

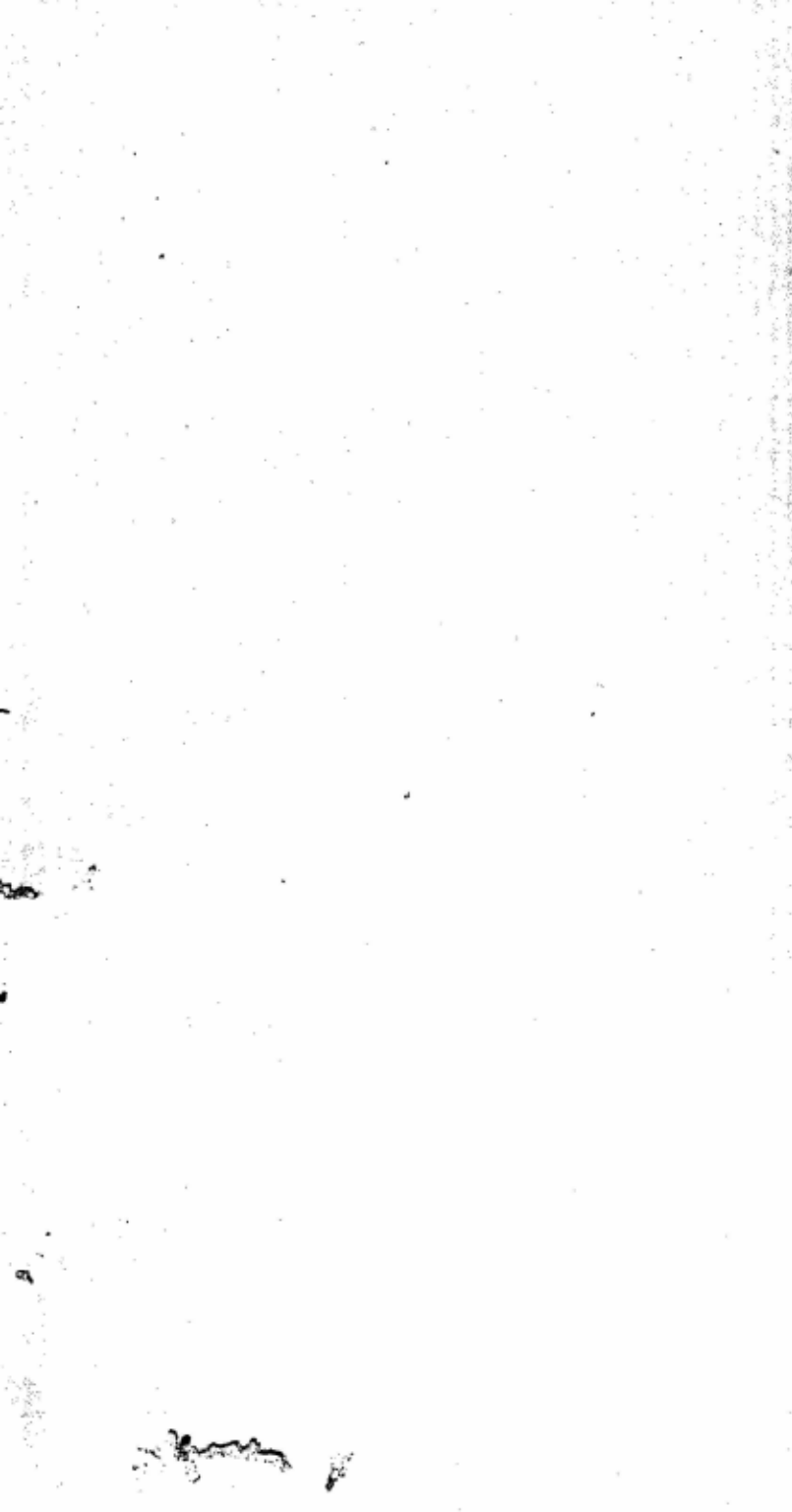
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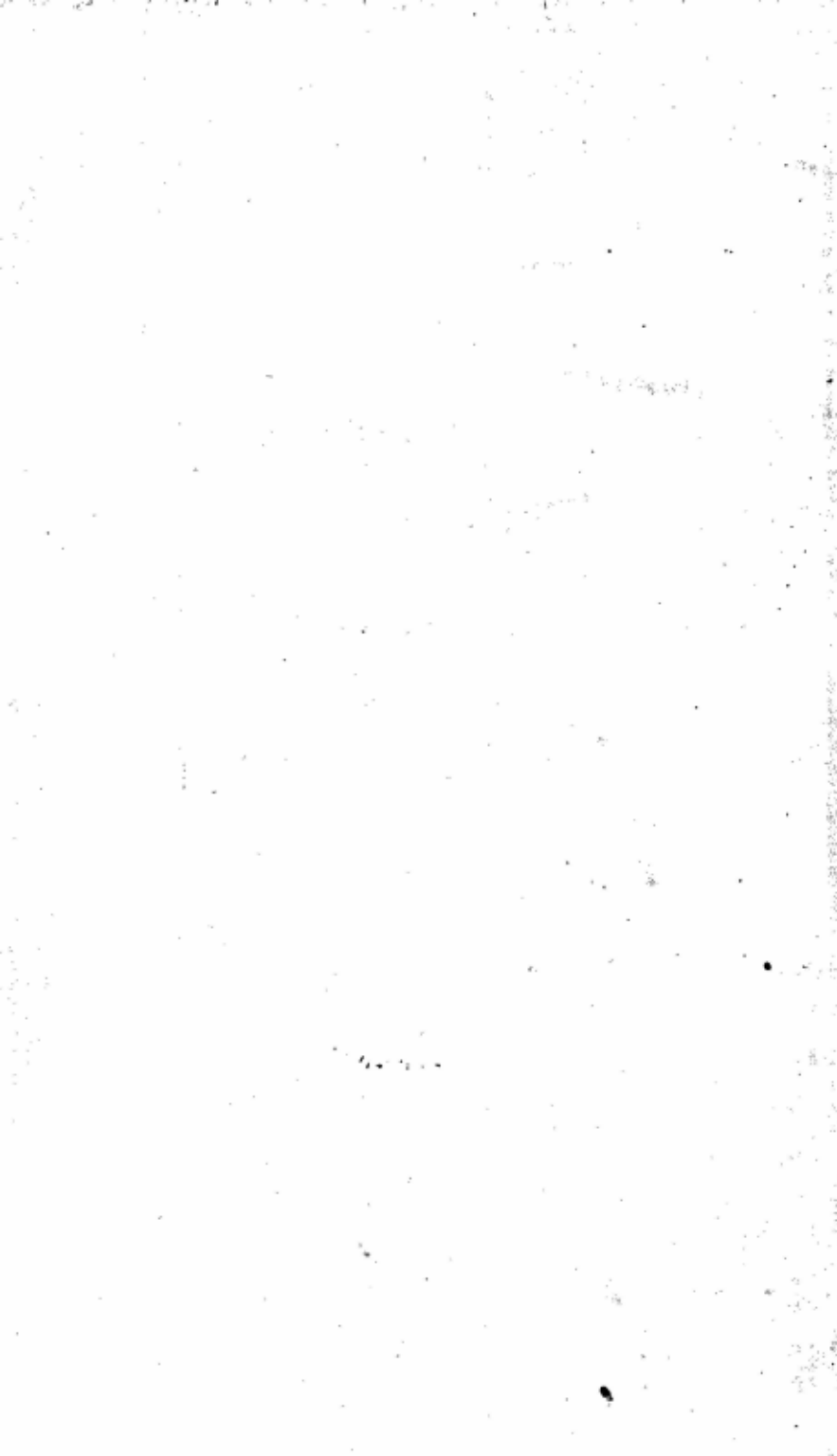
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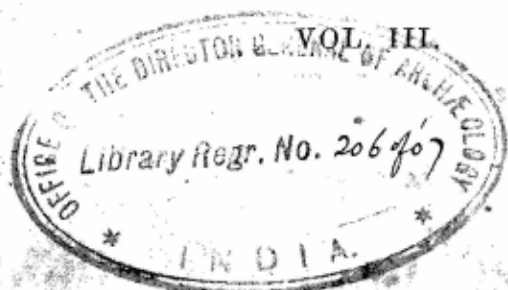


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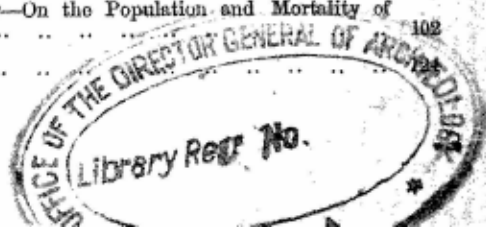
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**EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.**  
**INDIA.**

**DEPUTATION TO LORD MAYO.**

On Wednesday, November 4th, the Earl of Mayo received a deputation from the Council of the East India Association, consisting of Major-General North, R.E., Vice-Chairman; Colonel Sykes, M.P., Major-General Sir Edward Green, K.C.B., Colonel P. T. French, Major Evans Bell, Mr. P. P. Gordon, Mr. W. Tayler, Captain Harby Barber, Mr. P. M. Tait, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Dr. K. M. Dutt. The object of the deputation was to present to his Lordship the Memorial on the part of the Association earnestly soliciting his immediate attention to the momentous question of irrigation in India, expressing the disappointment felt by the members at the little progress made in the work, and the confidence the Association felt that the new Viceroy would as early as possible after his arrival in India take prompt and resolute measures to prevent further procrastination. The Memorial was presented by General North, the Chairman of the Council, who afterwards read aloud some extracts from correspondence that had recently passed between the Home and Indian Governments, directing his Lordship's special attention to the dispatches of Lord Cranborne, in which he had expressed his sense of the extreme importance of the subject, his desire for vigorous action, and his readiness to sanction any financial arrangements that might be deemed necessary for the execution of an extended system of irrigation. General North accompanied these extracts with forcible remarks of his own, and urged upon Lord Mayo with great emphasis the early consideration of the subject, pointing out that the delay which had occurred was chargeable not to the English, but to the Indian Government. Colonel Sykes, M.P., then addressed his Lordship to the same effect, pointing out the difference in the character of the several parts of India, which, while it secures a tolerable regularity of rainfall in some provinces, rendered others constantly dependent on artificial irrigation for its harvests; and pressing upon his Lordship the great fact that extensive irrigation was a duty incumbent on the English Government, not as a question of expediency or financial returns, but of humanity. Mr. William Tayler followed up these remarks by expressing the confident assurance entertained by the Association that the noble Earl, sympathizing with the sufferings of a people exposed to the visitations of periodical famine, and recognizing the responsibility which rested upon him as her Majesty's Viceroy, would have the resolution and the power to overcome all obstacles, and carry out without delay a work the accomplishment of which would bring him more true glory and more lasting satisfaction than any other achievements, however brilliant. Lord Mayo thanked the members for their address, gave his hearty concurrence to the sentiments expressed, and assured them that he fully recognized the extreme importance of a comprehensive system of irrigation throughout India. He stated that he had taken great interest in all the measures that had been adopted for the improvement of the land in England, and he believed if the same principles as had guided the proceedings here were applied in India the work would be easy. His Lordship then commented on the enormous mass of correspondence which had passed, and expressed his firm determination to substitute for the future, as far as lay in his power, action for writing. He then touched upon the desirability of having separate local organizations for different districts, so as to utilize as much as possible local experience, expressed his opinion that the East India Association was discharging an important duty in bringing forward such matters before the authorities and the public, and that nothing would, in his opinion, so much strengthen the hands of the Government in its endeavours to carry out all such measures as free, unreserved, and public discussion. The deputation retired, much struck with the straightforward character of the Viceroy's speech and the evident earnestness of his assurances.

AFTERNOON MEETING, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1868.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYVEDEN, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION,  
IN THE CHAIR.

*Irrigation Works in India.*

A GENERAL MEETING of the East Indian Association was held on Tuesday, the 8th December, to enable Mr. William Tayler to bring forward a Resolution suggesting that a deputation from the Society should wait on the Secretary of State with a Memorial prepared by him on the subject of Irrigation Works in India.

Lord Lyveden, the President of the Society, presided, and introduced in a few words the object of the meeting, expressing his own entire approval of the Resolution, and of the Memorial which had been previously circulated among the members of the Society.

Mr. TAYLER then brought forward the Resolution, prefacing it with a few words on the subject of the late deputation to the Earl of Mayo, congratulating the Association on its satisfactory result, and expressing the greatest confidence that the new Viceroy would carry out in action the sentiments he so emphatically expressed to the deputation.

Mr. Tayler then read the proposed Memorial paragraph by paragraph, explaining to the meeting that the object was simply to press upon the Secretary of State the vital importance of prompt and vigorous action in a matter on which depended to a great extent the prosperity and comfort of the agricultural classes, and the stability of the Imperial revenue.

Mr. WADYA then read the following minute by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, which he had left on record before his departure for India, in support of the Resolution:—

"As I am not able to attend the meeting, I hope the meeting will allow the following few remarks to be read.

"As I take a deep interest in the important question of the proposed Memorial, I was anxious to propose a Memorial myself; but when I heard that Mr. Tayler was willing to undertake the task, I was very much pleased, not only because he could do much better justice to the subject, but also because it would be one more proof to the natives of India that there are many Englishmen here who take a lively interest in their welfare.

"A hundred years ago a devastating famine in Bengal and adjoining provinces destroyed, it is said, 3,000,000 of lives; of the destruction of property there is nothing said, but it can be easily supposed it should be very large. Since that time famines have occurred from time to time. Colonel Baird Smith gives a list of ten as having taken place in the North-west Provinces, of which five more, besides the one alluded to of 1770, are said to have been very destructive. Madras has been visited with these calamities nearly as often; and other parts of India have also, more or less, suffered from the same cause at different times. Of all these, I shall here refer to one only before the assumption of power by the Queen. The effect of the famine of 1837-38 in the North-west Provinces is estimated by Colonel Baird Smith to have been the destruction of some 800,000 lives, and he calculates the loss of the then existing property, and from the prevention of future production during twenty-two years, to be about 20,000,000*l.* sterling, upon the basis of the loss of some 2,500,000*l.* sterling of revenue to the state. Coming down to the year 1861, Colonel Baird Smith describes the mortality as very large, but does not give any figure. My impression is, that the general estimate was some 250,000. Of destruction of property we have more precise information. Relief cost 250,000*l.*; loss in cattle, 750,000*l.*; loss, agricultural produce, 3,500,000*l.* sterling; remissions, 400,000*l.*; altogether above 4,500,000*l.* How much has this loss of the then existing life and property prevented increase of population and production of wealth during the succeeding seven years it is difficult to say. The famines of 1866 are fresh in our memory. In Orissa, &c., the report says a quarter of the population was destroyed, *i.e.* 750,000 lives, and in the Madras Presidency 200,000 persons perished. The reports do not give any precise figures about property destroyed, but can any one doubt that it must be something enormous?

"Now when we think of these famines, the loss of millions of lives, the suffering of many more, and the prevention of the future addition of many millions to the popula-

tion of the country, the destruction of millions' worth of existing property, and of many more of prospective production, what an appalling, what a sad picture we have before us! Can we help exclaiming, Would that all this property had been destroyed as waste and extravagance in building works of irrigation, rather than in this deplorable way? Would it be too much to say that the waste of life and property by the famines of the past eight years only would have been enough to cover the land with all-important works of irrigation? Have all the wars of the past 100 years destroyed as many lives and property as the famines of the past eight years?

"I do not hold this distressing picture before you with any desire to abuse or denounce anybody. It is only to mourn over the misfortunes of that poor land, that even after a warning of 100 years, if not more, repeated at intervals under British rulers, and with appliances of the nineteenth century at command, it should be afflicted with famines like those of 1861 and 1866. Is it possible to name a single person, either official or non-official, who does not grow eloquent when he talks of the necessity of irrigation—and yet India is without enough of it—to save it from such disastrous calamities?

"Complain of want of funds and want of labour!—and what has conduced and will still conduce more to produce that want than this very want of necessary irrigation works?

"The British capitalists consider the investment in India loans at 4 and 5 per cent. as a very safe and good investment, and yet there is always so much unaccountable talk about the means of raising funds.

"However, as Lord Mayo said the other day, let us leave the past alone, and look to the future. If I refer to the past any more, it is not to find fault or complain, but to show what can be learnt from it for the future. Leaving alone 'the fifty years of inefficient system of management,' which Mr. Dalzell says\* allowed works of former rulers to fall into disrepair, I confine myself to the last subsequent ten years; commencing from 1858, I shall just give a very brief sketch of the official correspondence.

"Lord Canning (Minute of 29th November, 1858) objects to private companies, and gives reasons; but if companies must be, then Lord Canning shows the best practical mode, though even the best he considers as containing 'manifest seeds of difficulty,' recommends Government to borrow money and reap the profits without participation. Mr. W. Muir and Colonel Baird Smith's notes accompany, expressing similar views.

"Lord Stanley's reply (24th March, 1859) admits all objections to companies, but says the Government has been tardy, therefore let us have companies; the trial of the company to be made on a limited scale. He allows, however, at the same time, to go on with borrowed funds, and suggests special local loans.

"After seventeen months, Reports from some twenty different officials, extending over sixty pages of the Blue Book, are sent to Sir Charles Wood on the subject of special local loans. Among these Reports there is a comprehensive one by Major Stretcher, especially condemning the system of depending upon surplus incomes of revenue only for irrigation works, and proposing how Government should act.

"The letter of the Indian Government of the 19th September, 1860, summarizes these Reports, and thinks that the funds necessary to be borrowed cannot be obtained 'by any process separate and distinct from the ordinary process of borrowing by the State,' and that 'local loans' cannot be got; and proposed spending a quarter-and-a-half millions during 1861 and 1862 in addition to current public work expenditure. Sir Charles Wood's reply (30th November, 1860) is characteristic: red tape must be completely gone through. And moreover he says:—'It is inevitable that during the next two or three years, a very large sum must be raised in this country on account of Indian railways, and possibly some portion of it by means of a Government loan. In order to effect that object otherwise than at a ruinous charge, it is absolutely essential that it should be shown that the annual expenditure of India has been brought within the income. I must desire that no steps may be taken for opening a loan in India, either for public works or on any other account, without the previous sanction of the Home Government.'

"So the capitalists of England are to be served to a fine-looking balance-sheet to get their money, and as if, next to Consols, Indian securities were not considered the best investment, and as if the Indian Government had not the credit of commanding

\* 'The Madras Famine,' p. 135.



loans at about 5 per cent. interest at any time. Now here we are about the end of 1860 without any progress. Then the famine of 1861 in the North-west Provinces overtake us. What can be done during such a calamity? While discussing to no purpose for three years, there perish some hundreds of thousands of lives and some millions of property, both existing and prospective. The calamity rouses the authorities. Every one desires the rapid construction of irrigation works, and from 1864 we again wade through the Blue Book and commence the second period of discussion to end in the Orissa famine.

"The dispatch of the Government of India (7th April, 1864) remembers the famine just over and the appalling effects of drought, discusses and decides that the State should undertake all works it can manage. This dispatch has nine inclosures of minutes and memoranda. Among them is a minute by Sir John Lawrence, who says (26th March, 1864): the State should not forego the financial advantages of irrigation works. India on the whole is a poor country. The mass of the people enjoy only a scanty subsistence. They are impatient of taxation, except to those they are accustomed to. New modes of taxation irritate and even oppress. Such fruitful causes of discontent ought to be avoided as far as practicable. If the State should decide to construct, no time should be lost, but must commence with vigour and earnestness; raise necessary money; cannot wisely be limited to the surplus income of the State; objects to companies.

"Sir Charles Wood's reply on this occasion (8th August, 1864) is more definite and encouraging, admits of objections to companies, and that funds should be raised by loans if available balance should be insufficient, and expresses himself prepared to give favourable attention to practical proposals.

"Then comes the long elaborate minutes of Colonel Stratchey alluded to in the Memorial, a minute by Sir John Lawrence, and a dispatch of the Indian Government (9th March, 1865), and you have the same old story over again, more emphatically and more precisely told, that the State must do the works, borrow money, and lose no time.

"Sir Charles Wood replies (30th November, 1865), there are no particular works proposed and their estimates given. Let me have details.

"The Government of India reply: We have some estimates ready, and that others are so nearly complete that we thought it time to settle how money was to be raised for several large projects. This reply has three long inclosures of minutes.

"Lord Cranbourne (23rd August, 1866) says he is ready to supply funds. Let no time be lost in maturing plans.

"The Government of India (7th December, 1866) say they will be ready with plans in two or three years.

"Lord Cranbourne (17th January, 1867) says he is unwilling to believe that you should require all this time. Why, Government said some projects were ready, and it has had its attention for years past directed to irrigation works. Be quick; proceed energetically. (10th January, 1867.) He would sanction all necessary financial arrangements.

"To this heavy pressure for vigorous action from Lord Cranbourne, the Government of India reply it was no use making survey-plans till policy for funds was fixed, and gave explanations about the two or three years required to mature plans.

"In the meantime the Orissa famine again startles all, and there is heavy destruction of life and property while discussions are going on how to supply labour and funds. Lord Cranbourne is earnest and pressing, and the result is the famous speech of Mr. Massey, declaring a separate loan and account for irrigation works, vigorous prosecution decided on by Government; no deliberation with famines; profit or no profit, irrigation must be supplied, and so on; and all friends of India rejoiced:—

"I now proceed to lay before you the estimates for the year which is about to commence. But before I enter upon this statement, I must advert to a change which has been recently adopted in dealing with one of the most important and the most interesting branches of our expenditure. I mean that portion of the grant for Public Works which relates to what are stated in the accounts as Agricultural Improvements, but which are better known by the description of Irrigation Works. The progress of these undertakings has been hitherto retarded by various causes, some of which I took occasion to notice in my financial statement of last year. One of them, the conflict of opinions as to the best mode of planning these vast and costly works, has been in a great measure removed by the able and comprehensive report of the Committee on the Ganges Canal, appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy in the early part of last

year; and the conclusions arrived at by the majority of the experienced engineers who framed that Report have been adopted by the Government of India with the concurrence of the Secretary of State. If any doubt has hitherto existed as to the expediency of engaging in great and extensive schemes of irrigation, that doubt has been completely dispelled by the lamentable events of the last year. *There can be no deliberation in dealing with famine*; and the issue forced upon the Government has been, not whether it shall engage in speculation which may yield an uncertain profit, but whether whole districts of the country shall be exposed to a periodical depopulation for want of those preventive measures which human power can command. *Irrigation, Sir, in India, is the great question of the day, as the repeal of the Corn Laws and unrestricted commerce were the great questions in England in days gone by*; but all that the repeal of the Corn Laws and Free Trade have done for the people of England, and much more than all, will be done for the people of India by works to fertilize their fields, and place their means of subsistence beyond the reach of accidents, which indeed are not so much accidents as events of ordinary and almost regular recurrence.

"*Sir, I have said that this question should not be considered mainly as one of profit and loss. Assuredly it should be taken up on far higher grounds. Nay, even if it were certain that the twenty or thirty millions of money which from first to last will be required by these operations would yield no return, the State would still be bound by the highest sense of duty to undertake them. But so far from irrigation schemes being unremunerative, the reverse is the admitted fact; and the Government have been blamed for the jealousy with which they have been supposed to exclude private companies eager to enter upon a field of such profitable enterprise. At the same time I am not sanguine in my expectation of large returns upon the whole of these undertakings. Making allowances for the money which will be wasted, and for the mistakes which will be made in the construction of works of such magnitude, and of which our experience is imperfect, I do not calculate upon obtaining, for many years to come, much more than will cover the interest and sinking fund of the capital invested; and I shall be content to leave it to some unborn successor of mine to congratulate the Council upon being in a condition to defray any considerable portion of the public charge from the profits of reservoirs and canals. But whether these works are to be profitable or unprofitable, we have resolved to undertake them without delay, and on a scale as large as our immediate resources in skill, labour, and materials will permit. Money will not be wanting to any amount that may be required; but a large and sustained expenditure for an extraordinary service such as this cannot be provided out of the ordinary revenue. I say we can no longer be dependent on the resources from which irrigation works have hitherto been supplied. Our surplus years are few and far between, and our cash balances are not more than sufficient for the ordinary demands of the public service. We have resolved, therefore, with the hearty approval of the Secretary of State, who has enjoined the Government to spare no means for the furtherance of this great object, to make special provision for this branch of public works. From henceforth, therefore, the estimate for irrigation works will be removed from current account to debt; in other words, the annual charge for the construction of canals, reservoirs, and other works of this class will be provided for by loans, and the interest of these loans only will be charged to the expenditure of the year. The amount which will be required during the ensuing year for distribution to the local governments on account of irrigation works does not exceed 700,000*l.*: I wish it were double or treble that amount. But hasty preparations for large expenditure on such projects would be ill-made; in addition to this sum, an outlay may be required for the commencement of the great works for utilizing the waters of the Soane. This project, for which the plans and estimates have long since been completed, has been delayed by negotiations with the East India Irrigation Company, who undertook the work, but who pressed for the concession of a still more extensive scheme. It is doubtful if the company, in the present state of the money market, will be able to fulfil their contract; but in case they should fail, the Government are ready and willing to proceed with the work.*"—*Budget Speech of the Hon. Mr. Mussey on the 5th of March, 1867.*

"As a beginning of the new order of things, Colonel Strachey is appointed (22nd January, 1867) 'Inspector-General of Irrigation Works,' on a salary of Rs.3000 a-month. Lord Cranbourne in confirming this appointment again urges speedy action. The latest complaint from the Indian Government is the want of a sufficient number of engineers to do the work. It is strange that with the engineering talent of England,

or rather of all Europe at command, such a cause should have been allowed to delay a work of such vital importance to the very existence of millions.

"It will be seen from the above slight sketch how the past ten years have been unfortunately lost. The misfortune of India, in my humble opinion, commenced with the dispatch of Lord Stanley, of 24th March, 1859, in which he said that as Government had been tardy, companies ought to be tried, instead of urging the Indian Government to give up their tardiness and do the work themselves, as they objected to companies, especially as Lord Stanley admitted the force of their objections to companies. I must do Lord Stanley the justice to say that in the same dispatch he also stated that the company was only an experiment, and that the Indian Government should not therefore relax their efforts, was ready to borrow money, but also suggested special local loans. This last suggestion of local loans, led, as I have already shown, to a long controversy, and time was lost, the Indian Government excusing themselves afterwards for not even preparing estimates, by saying that as long as the policy of providing funds was not settled it was useless making plans and estimates. India, Gentlemen, has been strangled with red tape with the best intentions. But acting, as I have said above, upon the advice Lord Mayo suggested at to our deputation, I am quite willing to leave the past alone and be hopeful of the future, and I would have actually stopped at this point and troubled you no more, concluding with the hope that the policy declared in Mr. Massey's speech, which I think has been wisely adopted, of building irrigation works by means of loans, will be vigorously carried out; and after the speech of Mr. Massey there would not have been room left for complaint. But one or two incidents since that speech have again created uneasiness among the friends of India. At the time of that speech 700,000*l.* were proposed to be spent on new irrigation works, giving at the same a detailed list of the works contemplated, but only about half the amount was actually spent. Besides this there are certain declarations in the Viceroy's budget-speeches of this year which have caused this uneasiness. I hope, however, that these declarations do not mean what they at first sight convey. You will remember that he had distinctly stated in his minute of 26th March, 1864, that taxes were irritating, irrigation works must be constructed from loans, &c., and has repeated his views nearly to the same effect in his minute and dispatch inclosing Major Strachey's minute of 1865. But his speeches of this year appear to lean to a very different policy. I would not trouble you at present with extracts, hoping that these expressions did not mean in any way to affect the declarations in Mr. Massey's speech about the vigorous prosecution of irrigation works by means of loans. I am willing to depend upon the hope, more especially because both Mr. Massey and Colonel Strachey have repeated their former views on the same occasion. Further, I am also hopeful from the earnestness with which Lord Mayo expressed himself to our deputation the other day, declaring that any further neglect of this most important matter will not only be a fault, but a great crime; and that therefore better days are at hand. Though therefore I commenced with complaint, I end my remarks with hopefulness, and am satisfied to accept 'all well that ends well.' Our Memorial, therefore, to the Secretary of State for India is to be meant, more to express our satisfaction at the policy ultimately though tardily adopted, and our hope that there will be now no swerving from it, that no excuse of want of engineers or of funds would be any longer urged, and that every effort will be made to construct (not talk about) the works, with as much speed as possible; so that we may in a few years be able to congratulate the British Government in having conferred upon India one of the greatest blessings, and the natives of India of having been delivered for ever from the recurrences of the past calamities of famines, as far as it is in human power to achieve this great glory. In the discussions with regard to the employment of revenues for such works, one important fact is always overlooked, *viz.* that out of the 50,000,000*l.* of revenue raised every year, some 10,000,000*l.* go clean out of the country to pay for the British rule, while in England the 70,000,000*l.* raised by revenue, not only return to the people, but have an addition of 10,000,000*l.* more drawn from India; the consequence is that any comparison of elasticity of revenue, or ability to pay for public works from revenue between the two countries is fallacious, and yet here even fortifications are constructed by loans, so as to distribute the burden over a number of years. India has to produce 10,000,000*l.* annually of profits before it can add a farthing to its permanent wealth. How far the English stewards have fulfilled their duty to enable India to bear such a burden I am not discussing at present, but it is evident that such drain upon the produce of the land can only be

maintained by a very high development of its material resources. To do that, large capital is necessary; and as India is not in a position to accumulate such large capital yet after paying the price of British rule, the only resource is that the English public should lend it the necessary money. Now I do not complain that the English public is not willing to lend, for how could the Indian Government have such a fair credit, only next to Consols, at less than 5 per cent., and that to the extent of above 100,000,000*l.* for public debt only. The fault is in my opinion that of the Indian Government, that while they do not hesitate a moment to clap rightly or wrongly millions of debt upon the Indian public for political purposes, it makes unnecessary fuss for borrowing for productive works, forgetting that after all the prosperity of the country as well as the stability of the British rule must mainly depend upon increased production of the country, or how would India pay 10,000,000*l.* yearly to England as its political tribute.

"I think that this Memorial will have the effect of strengthening the hands of the Home Government by its approval of the policy now decided upon, and by encouraging it to persevere in it. As far as I am aware of native opinion, it is at one with us, I could, if necessary, show you from any number of extracts from native newspapers, and I venture to assert that we are carrying native opinion with us in this Memorial.

"You will kindly allow me to take the first opportunity I have of thanking the Marquis of Salisbury for expressing his regret at the indifference of most of the present candidates for the new Parliament to the interests of the 200,000,000 of India. I have no doubt the meeting will join me in the thanks. I personally feel the more grateful and satisfied, because an attempt made by me a fortnight earlier for the same purpose by writing a short letter to 'The Times' had failed, as the letter was not published. I am glad, however, that 'The Times' and more or less the other press of this country have not altogether neglected India and have directed attention to it, in response to the call of the Marquis of Salisbury and the appeal of 'The Times' of India.

"The guarantee system, I think, is wisely given up by Government. If a work is worth guaranteeing, then either the State must derive the whole benefit of it, or a private company must entirely depend upon its own means, allowing the State to have such share in the profits as the materials they contribute towards the undertaking. If an undertaking is not worth guaranteeing, then Government has no right to guarantee and waste the money of the State. I cannot understand private enterprise with a guarantee,—the risk and burden to be on the State, and the company to have profits only. Large sums of money may be wasted, as in the case of bad railway bridges and other bad work, and the State must pay interest upon all. I cannot discuss this subject at length here; but as to irrigation works, Government have, I think, no alternative but to take them into their own hands, and they have, I think, rightly decided to do so.

"I am not against private enterprise. On the contrary, I am strongly for it, but it must be real private enterprise, and not merely nominal, as in the case of the railways. The case of irrigation works is peculiar, and the arguments against private companies for these works appear to me at present unanswerable. But why should private enterprise make so much noise about the irrigation works? If there is the real spirit of private enterprise, there are a thousand and one ways of exerting it in India.

"I earnestly entreat all Englishmen of enterprise to go to India and make to themselves as large profits as possible, and they cannot oblige us more or confer a greater benefit. We will be the better for every farthing they make for themselves by their investments and enterprise in our country. But I cannot understand the enterprise in which they may have the privilege of wasting and jobbing, and we to have to pay for it. It is both the duty and interest of England to make her connection with India as profitable as possible to both countries, and the only sure way of doing this is by assisting India with capital and developing its vast resources, and by giving the natives such a political status as to make them feel proud in being called British subjects."

A brief discussion followed, in which Mr. Login and Mr. Briggs took part. A formal request was then made to the noble President, at the instance of Mr. Tayler, requesting that should the Duke of Argyll consent to receive the deputation, he would himself accompany it.

This request being acceded to by Lord Lyveden, who took the occasion of reiterating the lively interest he felt in the subject, the Resolution was put to the vote, and the Memorial unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks to the President and Chairman was then proposed and carried, and the meeting was dissolved.

DEPUTATION FROM THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION TO HIS GRACE  
THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T., SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

FRIDAY, 18TH DECEMBER, 1868.

THE Deputation consisted of the following Gentlemen:—Lord Lyveden, President of the Association; Colonel W. H. Sykes, M.P.; the Hon. H. G. Liddell, M.P.; E. B. Eastwick, Esq., M.P.; General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B.; General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.B.; Major Evans Bell; W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq.; P. M. Taft, Esq.; William Tayler, Esq.; Captain Nott; Mr. S. P. Low; Mr. P. Gordon; Dr. Dutt, and Captain Barber (Secretary).

LORD LYVEDEN.—My Lord Duke,—I come here to have the honour of introducing to you a deputation from the East India Association, a society which was constituted for the purpose of diffusing information with regard to the East Indies in this country, and stimulating as far as possible both the public and the Government to take a deeper interest than we thought they had previously taken in the affairs of that great empire. The present question which we wish to submit to you is a question in which I well know, from having had the pleasure of acting with your Grace on the matter, you took a great interest before you acceded to your present office, namely, the question of irrigation in India. I believe that there is no more important question in that country—so far so that I was the first minister who endeavoured to guarantee a company for Irrigation in India, and I even thought it of more importance than the internal communication of that country. Of course we do not propose to dictate to your Grace what course you should pursue, as to acting by private companies or acting by public means; but we have ventured to think that it would not be presumptuous to urge upon you the necessity of immediately attending to this great question. A Memorial to your Grace was prepared on behalf of the Association by Mr. Tayler, which he will read to you, and also one to Lord Mayo, who signified his intention to do whatever he could to promote measures for irrigation, and we have no doubt that he will support us.

MR. TAYLER.—My Lord Duke,—With your Grace's permission it will be convenient first of all to read the Memorial which we presented to the Earl of Mayo, as it contains the real object of this deputation of the Association; and it is simply to place upon record our deep and unanimous opinion of the importance of the subject of irrigation in India, and to elicit from the Governor-General, as we now hope to elicit from your Grace, a decided opinion in favour of prompt and vigorous action in the matter. With your Grace's permission I will read the Memorial which we have presented to Lord Mayo, and also the Memorial which we now have the honour of presenting to your Grace. I may mention that the present deputation is from the general Association.

MR. TAYLER read the following Memorial:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MAYO,  
&c., &c., &c.

We, the Council of the East India Association, take the liberty of soliciting your consideration to a subject which we believe to be, at the present moment, the most important which can occupy the attention of the rulers of India.

The question to which we refer is the question of Artificial Irrigation in India.

We need not, we feel assured, unnecessarily occupy your time by dilating on the benefits to be derived from the scientific adaptation of water-power to the wants of India, or the responsibility which rests upon the Government to undertake and carry out works which are so intimately connected with the material prosperity of millions.

After years of controversy and discussion, the conclusion in which all parties now

appear to have agreed, is, that irrigation is *the* great desideratum by which alone we can secure to the agricultural masses a certainty of subsistence, and save them from a recurrence of those appalling famines which periodically devastate the country.

That the importance of this subject has been fully recognized, and the responsibility of the Government unreservedly admitted, is apparent from the Minute recorded by Colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to the Government of India in 1865.

We recognize in that able document an earnest of future effective action; and, looking to its comprehensive scope and elaborate scheme of management, we can add nothing here to its proposals.

The feasibility of raising the requisite funds, as estimated by Colonel Strachey, admits of little doubt—the eventual productiveness of the proposed work, even in a financial point of view, appears to be rational and well founded.

The blessings which such a scheme, when duly carried out, will confer upon the country, is a matter which no one will venture to dispute.

But, my Lord, without wishing to cast any reproach upon the authorities, we cannot refrain from here submitting to you that the very fact of such a complete and comprehensive scheme having been drawn out by so able an officer as Colonel Strachey, and accepted (as we understand) in its integrity by the Government, this very fact enhances the disappointment which all those experience who are interested in the welfare of the Indian people, when they see—what we fear is the case—that in the interval of more than three years which has elapsed since that hopeful Minute was recorded, *so little has been done*.

Irrigation is now admitted to be a means of national prosperity and a remedy against national famine.

Viewed in this light, we submit that the unnecessary delay, even of a day, is altogether inexcusable.

Years have already been wasted in discussion, and volumes of controversy have been placed on record.

On questions of detail, there are, and will be for some time to come, differences of opinion; but none of these differences, we submit, are such as to prevent immediate and effectual action.

We do not here wish to offer any suggestions on minor questions, *viz.* as to the best way of raising the requisite funds,—whether the agency of Government or that of private companies will be the most desirable, or any such collateral points. All we wish to do, on the present occasion, is emphatically to place on record our conviction that the adoption of a large system of general irrigation is the most important duty which now rests upon the authorities, and earnestly to pray your Lordship to take, as early as may be practicable, decided and vigorous action in this important matter.

We venture to submit this prayer in the interests of the millions whose comfort and subsistence depends upon the effective execution of the work; and we feel assured that your Lordship will, on your arrival in India, sanction such measures as will ensure due promptitude of action, and effectually prevent the loss of further valuable time in profitless discussions and vexatious delay.

Earnestly soliciting your immediate consideration of our prayer,

(Signed on behalf of the Council of the East India Association),

CHARLES FREDERICK NORTH, Major-Gen.,

*Vice-Chairman.*

Duke of ARGYLL.—That is the Memorial to Lord Mayo?

Mr. TAYLER.—Yes, your Grace. It was hurriedly got up on the eve of his departure. It was intended in the first instance to be submitted to Sir Stafford Northcote. In the meantime Lord Mayo's appointment took place, and it was thought desirable, as he was going out so soon, to present it to his Lordship. The present Memorial which we have the honour to submit to your Grace is as follows:—

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T.,

*Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, &c., &c., &c.*

YOUR GRACE,

A deputation, composed of the members of our Council, waited on the Earl of Mayo, on the eve of his departure, for the purpose of laying before His Lordship the views and wishes of the East India Association in regard to the all-important question of Artificial Irrigation in India.



The sentiments expressed by His Lordship on that occasion have afforded much satisfaction to the Association, and have impressed us with a feeling of confidence that, so far as the influence and authority of Her Majesty's Viceroy is concerned, nothing will be wanting in the Executive Department of the Indian Administration to ensure the speedy and effectual accomplishment of the great work, on which mainly depends the material prosperity of millions in India, and to a great extent the stability of the Imperial revenues.

But, your Grace, we are conscious that, whatever be the wishes or resolution of the Executive Government in India, the support of the Secretary of State is an indispensable element in the successful issue of all local enterprise; and although of late years that support has been cordially vouchsafed, we yet feel that we should be wanting in our duty to the great national constituency whose interests it is our ambition to serve, if we failed, at the present crisis, to reiterate to yourself those deep convictions on this momentous subject which we expressed to the Viceroy elect.

The recurrence during the present year of disastrous scarcity, though confined to a portion only of the Indian continent, brings forcibly to our minds the remembrance of that appalling visitation which two years ago carried tens of thousands of British subjects through the throes of gradual starvation to untimely and agonizing death, and will, we doubt not, have revived the sympathies of all those on whose authoritative action depends the future deliverance of a people from periodical decimation.

We believe, your Grace, that the rapid extension of scientific water-works throughout all those provinces of India which are dependent on irrigation for the full development of annual crops, is, without any exaggeration, the greatest earthly boon which British science, British wealth, and British philanthropy can bestow upon the great country now committed by Providence to our protection; and we feel assured that if your hearty and ungrudging support is given to the operations of the Government of India—if the energies of the new Viceroy are cordially sustained and generously guided by Her Majesty's Minister in England—we shall be able in the course of a few short years, we will not say to boast, but to rejoice, in the consciousness, that whatever may have been the mistakes of our Government, the shortcomings of our Administration, or the wrongs which in our ignorance we have unwittingly perpetrated, we have at length brought to every homestead of British India that greatest of all sublunary blessings, without which progress, education, mental and moral improvement of the people are but visionary dreams—the blessing of "daily bread."

With this Memorial, we take the liberty of presenting a copy of that which we laid before Lord Mayo, and which will show you the particular points to which we desire to attract attention, and we would close this address by earnestly beseeching your Grace to use the great power entrusted to you, for the vigorous furtherance and effectual completion of works, which will secure for their most important, if not their primary purposes, that world of fertilizing waters, which God has so graciously provided for man's behests, but which man, in his blindness, has hitherto so ignorantly wasted.

MR. TAYLER.—Your Grace will permit me to offer a few remarks in connection with the subject. Having passed almost all my life in India from boyhood to old age, and having always taken a deep interest in anything which contributed to material measures on behalf of India, I cannot refrain upon this opportunity from saying a few words in support of the object of the present deputation. We are well aware of the intelligent and anxious interest which your Grace has ever shown in everything connected with India, and the earnest sympathy which you have evinced in all that concerns the prosperity of the people; and that, while it is to us a guarantee of your confidence and of the successful issue of this deputation, will prevent the necessity of anything like an elaborate detail as respects the minor and collateral subjects connected with this great question. All that I would venture to submit to your Grace is, that this matter has this peculiar feature: by a rare and felicitous combination it comprises all the elements which usually are required by a wise and cautious Government. Viewed in the lowest sense, it financially and commercially pays: that is an established fact. Viewed as regards the revenues of India, it undoubtedly contains a sufficiently large element of stability, because it obviates those periodical remissions of revenue which have their effect upon the exchequer; it saves us from a depopulation by death; it saves us from a depletion of the strength of the country, and from the partial paralysis of trade which necessarily follows. Viewed again as a question of

humanity, it is impossible to describe how large a charity is contained in the matter. It means simply this: the deliverance of a people from periodical starvation and misery. But there is another view which is probably worthy of consideration by every far-seeing statesman. Hitherto the history of India tells us that in every case of popular commotion or fanatical convulsion the great body of the peasantry have been invariably either indifferent, passive, or submissive to our rule. This is a great fact—there is no doubt about it—whatever may be the extent to which parts of the population have coincided in the fanatical or political movements, the agriculturists of the country—the actual cultivators, the peasantry—have been submissive and passive. That has been a great source of confidence to us. But, your Grace, the times have changed. Formerly the peasantry of India, in its ignorance, has been indifferent to political convulsions. But ignorance has yielded to education. Already there are signs that the people of India are capable of organization for political purposes. Those who have watched the events of the last few years, and who have witnessed the discussions on the great Indigo question, which was supposed to be a mere local question, have seen a deep organization underneath, affecting even the minds of the peasantry of India; and we cannot but expect that as education advances, and the apathy caused by ignorance is removed, it will be a great question of political statesmanship to accomplish some work which shall act as a tie between the rulers and the ruled in India, and to secure the affection of every ryot in the country. When you look at such a thing as this, it is impossible to conceive of anything which will effect a more complete bond of sympathy between the ryot and the rulers when it is found that by our science and energies we can accomplish a work which, as I have stated to your Grace, will bring daily bread to every hearth and homestead in the country. For all these reasons we venture to represent this subject as a great question in the material prosperity of India. Wherever a great work has been attempted there has always been, whether judiciously or otherwise, some difference of opinion. This work alone combines all the elements of success; it is a permanent blessing to the whole country; and if the glories of your Grace's administration are written on the rivers of India, it will be a more permanent monument than monuments of brass or of stone.

Duke of ARGYLL.—Does any other member of the deputation wish to speak?

Mr. FITZWILLIAM.—My Lord Duke, I have very little to add to what has been already stated to you either as regards the advantages of irrigation when applied to meet the future wants of the people of India, or the results of the measures already undertaken. But there is one question hardly secondary to those already before you, namely, the effect of irrigation upon the growth of cotton—a question in which the British Empire, as well as India, is deeply interested. I need hardly refer to the late American war, by which our supply from that country was and continues to be largely reduced, which, as your Grace is well aware, served to increase the growth and consequent supply of that staple from India. The demand for Europe is likely to continue, and will probably be increased. We have therefore to provide additional supplies, and that can be materially assisted by the extension of works of irrigation. In America and other cotton-producing countries a full supply of water is necessary for the cotton crops—a necessity which applies with double force to India. In endeavouring therefore to promote irrigation as a means of saving the people of our Eastern empire from a recurrence of the terrible and disastrous famines which have of late years especially desolated the country, we shall find the great cotton interest of vast importance as aiding us in carrying out the undertakings now contemplated with that object. The more so, as looking at the vast commercial importance of the Indian cotton trade, we are likely to have the support of the great manufacturing interests of this country if the Government assist us.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Your Grace, I take the liberty of introducing a word simply as a practical man, acquainted with the subject. Having been myself employed in irrigation for forty years, I can speak from actual personal knowledge both of the facilities for it and of the results of it. I have been engaged in connection with the irrigation of the three great Irrigated Districts of India, namely, Godavery, Krishnah, and Tanjore; and two facts are perfectly undeniable and uncontroverted. One is, that the people of those districts have never suffered from famine from the day that they were irrigated till this day; nobody has thought of their being affected by famine, and not only so, but they have relieved all the districts round them which have been under the influence of famine, by enormous importations of grain. That is one



fact. The other fact is, that these districts are yielding such enormous revenues compared with all the other districts of India, that it is put quite out of the power of the other districts to compete with them. Those three districts yield on the average half-a-million a-year, which is very nearly double what all the other districts yield, entirely owing to their being irrigated. If a quarter-of-a-million were added to all the other districts of India, which are all capable of irrigation, it would be thirty millions. A gentleman has spoken of the effect of irrigation upon the natives. I can speak of it with the utmost confidence—the effect is most important. Nobody knows better the state of the native mind than the missionaries; and one of them told me, that they said to him continually, “We never saw the Godavery water till you Christians came here.” Every native knows the value of water. My difficulty has always been with the Europeans; the natives know the value of water well enough. The other point is a point which the last speaker has referred to. I will only say that the effect of irrigation upon the cotton is not only directly in irrigating the cotton-land, but ten times more in irrigating the corn-land, because just in proportion as human labour is set at liberty from producing food, it will be employed in producing cotton in the favourable tracts. The produce in irrigated land is three times that in land not watered. Therefore it bears upon the Cotton Question to a far greater degree than almost anybody is aware of. I will only just mention another point, namely, that from my own personal knowledge (I have been almost all through India) there is not a district of India which is not capable of having half-a-million or a million acres irrigated without an excessive expenditure. In those three districts which I have mentioned, the actual returns in revenue are from 50 to 100 per cent. The expenditure has been half-a-million in Godavery, and the increase of revenue has been a quarter of a million; and I can say from long experience that *irrigation* will yield from 20 to 50 per cent. in actual revenue to the Government, and I am perfectly satisfied that the whole of India is capable of being thus improved to the extent of half-a-million or a million acres being irrigated in each district.

Colonel SYKES.—I will not say one word, my Lord Duke, upon the question of humanity or policy; but if your Grace will have some few figures put together with regard to the cost of the famine in Orissa, I think you will not raise a question that it is a matter of economy to avoid famines. What has been the cost of that frightful famine in Orissa? There has been a remission of rent and a non-occupation of land subsequently by half-a-million of people. Now if the losses occasioned by these circumstances are all put together, they will amount to a sum which would pay the interest of a loan for irrigation in one locality at all events. Therefore, as a matter of economy, it is very useful and politic to engage in this system of irrigation. But it is said that the revenues of India are insufficient. No doubt they are of themselves insufficient for extensive operations; but the work ought to be looked upon entirely independently of the question of revenue, namely, that it is necessary for the well-being of the people that in some economical way that money should be forthcoming. The money should be raised as a loan, which should be entirely distinct, both as regards its interest and its profits, and should be entirely separate from the revenues of India. There is no doubt that loans can be obtained in England at 4 per cent., for irrigation purposes, with the credit which India has from its resources. Then if we go a little farther back, we must lament the waste of money which has taken place in the North-western Provinces owing to famines. In Rajpootana, at this very moment, a famine is pressing upon the people with frightful severity. I have a son who is commanding cavalry there, and he writes to me that whole villages are being depopulated. Rajpootana provinces have not the same claim upon us as British possessions; but still they are adjoining provinces to us, and we are now endeavouring, at great cost, to prevent the sad consequences of this frightful famine. We can never tell when a famine may come, owing to the irregularity of the monsoons. The very last monsoon deluged Gujerat and swept away villages, and produced a greater abundance of rain than the district had been accustomed to; but the table-land of Rajpootana, which is raised 2000 feet, was destitute of rain. There were only 7 inches of rain in Rajpootana in the last year. Therefore we must in fact embrace a large and comprehensive system to avoid the evil which will inevitably occur somewhere. I say that it is a reflection upon us that we have not followed the example of our predecessors, who have paid most remarkable attention to irrigation.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—The gentleman has spoken of the economy of relieving the people in famines. The loss of revenue by people who have died in Orissa is half-a-

million a-year, at the present rate of taxation in India. That is, the interest of ten millions; and one million would have saved every life there.

Mr. LIDDELL.—My Lord Duke, you have heard the opinions of experienced men in India. I only wish to add a single word, as a very humble Member of the English House of Commons. This is a matter which we regard, and I hope the House of Commons regard, quite as much an English question as an Indian question; and the point which weighs in many of our minds is this:—It is quite four years ago that in the House of Commons one of your Grace's predecessors, Lord Halifax, was kind enough to furnish me with a return of one of the most careful and elaborate reports which was ever drawn up, namely a Report, by Colonel Strachey, in which he pointed out that to postpone any great scheme of Indian irrigation, by finding the funds out of revenue, was a process so long, and that the work done was so small, in consequence, of course, of the heavy addition which was made to the annual budgets, that he proposed a large scheme and raising a considerable sum of money on loan, and at once to commence a very extensive scheme of irrigation in various parts of India. Now we have never had it thoroughly and satisfactorily explained to us in England why that Minute was unattended to. I should say that the House of Commons have paid some little attention to this matter; and I beg, with great submission, to join with those who have addressed your Grace to-day in wishing that the revenues of India could be rendered available for the purpose, and that the funds for this great work could be procured. I do trust and hope that a general scheme of raising on loan the means of providing India with a proper system of irrigation will receive that attention to which I think that it is entitled.

Mr. GORDON.—My Lord Duke, I will venture to say a word on behalf of those districts in which perhaps no comprehensive scheme of irrigation can be carried out, and which stand alone. I allude to the inaccessible and mountainous districts of India. It is almost impossible to conduct the whole of their irrigation by one system—it must be more by isolated measures; and it has been suggested by the leading men in that part of the country that if something could be done in this country to encourage irrigation, similar to the encouragement which has been given to agriculture in England, Ireland, and Scotland, to so very good an effect, namely, by granting loans for the purpose of irrigation carried out under inspection, and for which loans the estates should be security to the Government, it would be an immense boon to that part of the country; and that is the only way in which we think that it could be generally and speedily made available, which is the great object there. In alluding to that part of the country, I would particularly bring before your Grace the fact, that in the mountainous districts they have a peculiar claim upon this country for encouragement. They have considerable difficulties to contend with in clearing, more than in any of the lower districts. But there is another point—it is the only district of India which exists for colonization; and if we can only encourage our Indian farmers, they can settle there with their families, and colonize that part of India. I simply throw this out as a suggestion, to which I trust your Grace will give consideration, and I think it one which would be of very great advantage to that part of the country, and which would be more speedily carried out, and with more benefit, and with the greatest possible safety to the Government, by the system which has been found so very advantageous to the agricultural interests of this country.

Colonel SYKES.—It is to be understood that I advocate irrigation as a Government measure.

Dr. DUTT.—Formerly the Doab was often visited by famine, owing to the failure of the crops from want of water; but since the construction of the Great Ganges Canal this awful scourge has not made its appearance in this district of the N.W. Provinces. At first it was thought that this great irrigation work would not prove remunerative; but, though yet incomplete, it is now paying—including enhancement of land revenue—about 5 per cent. on the capital laid out. With the further development of distributing channels, and careful management, there is no doubt that this canal in the course of a few years will pay 7 or 8 per cent. on the outlay. Thus irrigation works in India have proved to be not only an efficient remedy against famine, but also highly remunerative. If irrigation be taken up as a Government measure, even if it do not pay a high percentage on the capital laid out, the Government will not be the loser, but will, no doubt, indirectly gain a great deal. Irrigation works would save thousands of lives from famine, and thousands of pounds to the revenue—which are now either expended for the relief of distress, or remitted in

times of famine; they would facilitate internal commerce, and increase the produce, and therewith the exports and imports and revenue of the country.

Mr. TAYLER.—I mentioned in the Memorial that our object was only one, namely, to obtain from your Grace a decided expression of your opinion and support, and any other furtherance which you could vouchsafe generally without reference to any of the minor and collateral points. I think that some gentlemen, in their laudable zeal for the furtherance of this object, have tried to discuss and present to your Grace some minor matters which may possibly distract your Grace's attention and complicate the matter. Therefore, in conclusion, I would state that our object is simply this: we have in consultation scrupulously avoided presenting any matter to your Grace which is matter of controversy or discussion, and have confined ourselves to the subject of systematic irrigation in India as the one great thing which is called for for the comfort and benefit of the hundreds of thousands under our rule; and it is to that end and for that purpose that your Grace will be pleased to accept this deputation, and to place upon record, if possible, some decided expression of your opinion which will lead to decisive action.

Duke of ARGYLL.—Gentlemen,—I quite understand, from the observations which fell from my noble friend Lord Lyveden, who was very clear upon that point, and, indeed, from the terms of the Memorial which was read to me, that the object of this deputation is not to extract from me any expression of opinion upon the details of this measure, and what the Government of India may desire to adopt with regard to irrigation, but that I may express to the deputation my own opinion of the immense importance of the subject of irrigation. I can assure my Lord Lyveden and the members of the deputation that it is impossible for any one to have a stronger feeling on that subject than I myself have, and I am very happy to say that I believe that this feeling is general. I feel sure that it is entertained by my noble friend the present Governor-General of India and by his predecessor, Sir John Lawrence; and I am sure that the deputation must feel that it is difficult to imbue the Government of India with a greater sense of its importance. Gentlemen, having come into office only for a single week, I am sure that you will not wish me to enter into the subject of the difficulties which beset the question; but I certainly agree with the general principle laid down by that eminent man the late Lord Dalhousie, that it is hopeless to expect that works of this nature should be defrayed out of the current revenues of the empire. (*Hear, hear.*) On the other hand the principle has been laid down (and I think that it is a sound one, as far as I have yet seen), and it seems to have been strenuously insisted upon by my predecessor, Sir Stafford Northcote, and I think rightly, that as far as possible the revenues of India should be made to defray the ordinary public works of the country (*hear, hear*), and that those works should not increase the public debt of India, which since the mutiny has swelled to a very large amount, unless they are works which beyond all doubt are of a remunerative character. I think that is a sound principle of finance. Under these circumstances, Gentlemen, I hope that you will be satisfied with the expression of my desire to promote schemes of this nature, to be met by a loan in so far as they can be made of a remunerative character (*hear, hear*). I remember that in the debates in the House of Lords which took place some years ago, Lord Ellenborough said that if we were driven out of India to-morrow we should leave behind us no works which would do any credit to the Government of India during the century for which we have had possession of it. That sentiment was expressed about twelve or fifteen years ago; and while I think that even at the time when it was uttered it was rather too severe, it certainly cannot be said to be true now, because considerable works, and of very large extent, have been effected with respect to the communications of the country. Railways have been opened up in that period, and a very large debt has been accumulated (five per cent. interest being paid for it) and secured upon the revenues of India. But I have not the slightest doubt that it would be quite as politic to expend money upon irrigation works when and where they can be made remunerative, and that they are most important to the welfare of India.

Lord LYVEDEN.—I think that we must express our satisfaction with the courtesy which the noble Duke has conceded to us, and his desire to promote the interests of India; and we are quite satisfied with the expression of his opinion which he has given, and desire no further expression of his opinion.

MEETING, TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1869.

MAJOR-GENERAL C. F. NORTH, IN THE CHAIR.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Before Mr. Login begins to read his paper, I have, I am sorry to say, to announce to you that Captain Barber is so ill in bed, that he is quite unable to attend the meeting to-day. I have now the pleasure of requesting Mr. Login to read a paper on "The Material Improvement of India."

Mr. T. LOGIN, C.E., read the following paper:—

*The Material Improvement of India.*

On the due proportion of light, heat, and moisture, life depends, and probably in few countries in the world is this more fully exemplified than in Northern India, for there we have the snowy range, the great desert, and the pestilential marshes of Eastern Bengal, each in its peculiar way prejudicial to life.

The study of meteorology under such opposite conditions cannot but be a subject of great interest, and the effect of climate on animal and vegetable life is well worthy of attention. Possibly it may be found that man in his highest state of development both mentally and physically is in a climate where the rain-fall is somewhat above thirty inches in the year; as with this quantity of moisture there is not likely to be rank or stunted vegetation, and with proper culture he can have the best of food. A study of the differences which exist between the inhabitants of Northern India may in a measure be traced, the writer believes, to a want or excess of moisture, both as to their bodily and mental development; and should such be found to be the case, it becomes all the more necessary to devise means to bring about such changes as will tend to counteract the baneful effects of an undue proportion of moisture. This, the writer believes, can be effected by drainage and irrigation. Over light and heat the engineer cannot have control so as to cause any observable changes; yet it has been said to the writer by one who stands high in the medical profession, that he believed that a complete system of irrigation in the Punjab would reduce the extremes of temperature at least ten degrees. When we come to consider that there will be several thousand square miles of country undergoing irrigation at one and the same time, and this moist ground exposed to almost a tropical sun, it is natural to suppose that both rain and clouds will be more prevalent, and thus the whole country will be indirectly benefited. The first question, however, to be asked is, how, by natural causes, can an increase of moisture be ensured where it is deficient? And it is thus that observation and science come to our aid. First, what does nature do in attracting rain, or rather, what is the effect of disturbing what we find in nature as regards vegetation? It may be taken for granted that where there is an abundance of trees, there must be a plentiful supply of moisture, or the trees could not flourish; but there are other instances where forests cannot exist from an over-abundance of it. However, there can be no mistake as to the cause being mainly owing to excessive moisture by the rank vegetation in the neighbourhood, to exposure on the hill-side, to excessive rain, or to man's interference. Experience shows that where at one time there was plenty of rain, it has been much reduced, and the climate has been vitiated by cutting down trees, and in some parts of India it is said that cholera has become more prevalent from want of them; therefore, the first thing to do is to commence new plantations all over the country where the rain-fall is little and there are few trees.

It is difficult to say how trees attract rain, or how the climate is affected by the want of them; but if we look at a stately old Peepul tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and consider the surface area of leaves it exposes to the atmosphere—an area nearly equal to the canvas spread on any one of the ships of the British Navy—we cannot but believe that it must have a very great effect on the climate, by absorbing and giving out moisture as well as other gases, which if not absorbed might eventually lead to disease and pestilence. Unfortunately this subject, till within late years, has not had much attention paid to it; but when timber for the railway-works had to be transported from Norway, the question was for the first time put: Were there no trees in India? The want of timber-trees no doubt is a matter of great importance, but it is little in comparison with the injury caused by the want of fuel in a country where coal is not procurable except at great cost; and the result is, that the manure, which nature always intended should be returned to the soil, is consumed in cooking food,

&c.; thus the soil for generations back has been robbed of its strength, and, as a natural consequence, cultivation, instead of progressing, it is to be feared, is retrograding.

Several years ago the writer suggested that wherever the surface soil had to be used in constructing the banks of the distribution-channels of the Ganges Canal, instead of returning this injured land to the cultivators it should be kept by Government and compensation paid. He recommended that this land should be planted with useful timber-trees; and by an estimate he then drew up it was shown that by the sale of the prunings alone at the end of twenty-five years Government would probably receive back more than if the same land had been producing grain all that time, and have paid off the compensation at the same time. On the other hand, the villagers would have an abundance of fuel without having to use their manure for such a purpose. Thus in the first generation a great improvement would be effected in agriculture at no loss to Government, while at the end of this time, so fast is the growth of trees in India, that there could be little necessity for the importation of timber. Taking the irrigation-channels of the canals from the Ganges and the Jumna at 5000 miles in length, with a belt of trees 100 feet broad on either side, this would give an area of nearly 200 square miles of forest, with this great advantage, that not only would it be dispersed all over the country, but such narrow strips would not give sufficient cover for animals of prey—a most important matter in a country which is the home of the tiger. The moisture also from the distribution-channels would assist in the growth of the trees, without putting Government to any loss whatever. So it is to be hoped some such plan as above mentioned may be carried out throughout the country wherever canals exist; and, seeing the great benefits likely to accrue from tree-planting, that a system of belts of trees may ere long spring up throughout the length and breadth of the land.

It is beyond the power of estimates to say how many inches may be added to the rain-fall when such a system is carried out, but all that can now be said is that probably it would contribute materially to the desired end. The writer believes that if "topes" of trees were planted near each of the European barracks, it would add much to the health and comfort of the soldier; for under their shade he could often find active amusement, instead of spending all day in a crowded barrack-room, while the foliage they expose to the atmosphere cannot but also have a beneficial effect in absorbing any impurities there may be in the air near crowded buildings.

The next question is to consider how to prevent too much water covering the country. This may be effected by two means; first, by storing up the flood-waters, and thus reducing their magnitude; secondly, by embanking off the floods from the low lands. Mr. Ellet, in 1853, recommended the storing up of the waters of the Mississippi on a gigantic scale, so as to prevent inundation of the country along its banks by reducing the volume of the floods; or, in other words, to reduce the height of the flood-wave by extending its length. Sir Arthur Cotton has recommended the same in India; not so much for the purpose of reducing the height of the floods, as that reservoirs may be established for irrigation; but the writer cannot say how far this may be practicable in the hilly countries of Central or Southern India, as he cannot speak from personal observation. In some instances, however, this has already been done with advantage.

Where the country admits of such works being carried out, they should certainly be constructed; but, judging from the enormous slopes of the rivers which drain the southern face of the Himalayas, the writer fears that in most cases the small volume of water that could be stored by throwing "bunds" across their beds would not pay. There are, however, natural reservoirs in this country that may be considered inexhaustible, at least during the hot season, from the melting snows; and till these rivers which give the inexhaustible supply are not all appropriated, it will be time enough to think of storing up water among the hills. When every drop of water is properly utilized, and the present excessive and injurious waste is put a stop to, it will be time enough to turn our attention to storing up water among the hills along the Himalayan range. To enable one to judge of the size of reservoirs required to give a certain uniform supply during the whole year, we will take, for example, a small rivulet that discharges only 100 cubic feet a-second which has a mean velocity of, say 2 feet a-second. The section of such a stream would be only some 6 yards broad and less than 3 feet deep, so small that it would be considered hardly worthy of consideration. Yet a reservoir, to give an equal supply, after allowing a loss of one-third for evaporation and absorp-

tion, with a mean depth of 10 feet when full, would cover an area of no less than 15½ square miles; and if the outlay in constructing such a lake exceeded 50,000*l.*, except in very peculiar circumstances, the work would not probably pay for the outlay sufficiently to warrant Government in sanctioning such an undertaking.

The writer, in his Report on the *Rechna Doab*, suggested the construction of a series of lakes covering an area of nearly 50 square miles. The object, however, was not so much for the storage of water as to prevent injury being done by a neighbouring stream which flooded the whole country; and until it was disposed of, it was needless to think of any irrigation-works. After going fully into the subject, and estimating the cost and probable returns, the writer arrived at the conclusion that the returns from irrigation from such lakes would hardly amount to 5 per cent. on outlay of capital. His reason for recommending such works, therefore, was that as it was necessary under any circumstances to turn this stream, it would be better to utilize its flood-waters. From this, therefore, we may conclude that simply for the purpose of storing up water it will hardly pay to do so, either on the level plains of Northern India or among the Himalayas.

The next part of the subject which requires to be considered is that of bunding off the floods from the low lands. This is a matter of great importance, and does not appear to have had that interest taken in it which it deserves. Till within a very late period little or nothing has been done except to a few rivers which flow into the western side of the head of the Bay of Bengal (this paper only refers to Northern India). During our predecessor's rule this embanking-off floods was not neglected; and, so far as the writer can judge, there must have been several able engineers during the periods of former Governments, who were well acquainted with this description of work as well as canals. At that out-of-the-way place, *Purmeah*, this system of embankment was carried out; and when the writer was called on to report on the subject of draining this station, he simply recommended repairing the old Mahometan embankment, so as to prevent the flood-waters getting into the station; but evidently the importance of such a step has not been duly appreciated, as the writer learned lately that instead of raising the embankment it has been levelled down, so as to give the water a free flow into the station and marshes in the vicinity. He also recommended that the *Ganges* and *Dargeeling* road, where practicable, should be so constructed as to form a "levee" or "bund" to prevent the low lands east of the road being flooded; but this suggestion also was not accepted. Happily, a change is now taking place as to the light in which such works should be considered; and both in *Assam* and *Pegu* such embankments are being carried out. Of those in *Assam* the writer can say nothing; but he believes it is the reconstruction of old embankments that had got out of repair; but in *Pegu* they have been most successful; and *Sir Arthur Phayre*, the late Chief Commissioner, to whom this fast rising province is so much indebted, speaking of these embankments, says:—"We now are embanking the *Irrawaddy* from *Akaukong* down to *Donabaw*, and the embankments so far do make capital roads."

We thus see that a system of roads and embankments can be carried out in combination, with great advantage and at a minimum cost, there being no bridges or drains, as there is no cross-drainage; and when we know that 36 running feet of waterway of drain-bridges, and 10 running feet of waterway of large bridges, cost as much as a mile of embankment,\* we can all the more appreciate the advantage of combining both into one. In a pamphlet, lately published by the writer, on '*Traffic over Roads, Railways, and Canals*,' he goes into this subject at some length, so that all he will now say, is that it is his belief that as great benefits will accrue to such countries as *Bengal*, *Assam*, and *Pegu* by embanking-off the floods and then draining the marshes, thus reducing the water-supply within moderate limits, as the dry parched plains of Upper India will be benefited by canals.

With a system of bunding-off and draining, the writer thinks that a very great change can be effected in the climate; and not only will there be a better supply of food, but a stronger and more healthy race will spring up, while at the same time, by thus affording a means of transport for the surplus grain, famine must disappear.

Having thus shown how the quantity of moisture may be reduced where it is in excess, it is now time to consider how to increase it where required in those parts of India which suffer from want of rain. This is a subject so great, and so much has been said about it, that it is difficult to know what to speak of and what to omit. At

\* See p. 2 of the writer's pamphlet on *Roads, Railways, and Canals*.



page 1 of his 'Notes on the Great Ganges Canal,' the writer says :—" In India the promotion of irrigation-works becomes a matter of public policy as well as humanity, for the wide-spreading distress occasioned by want of water is liable to produce discontent. On the other hand, the moral effects cannot but be beneficial, when from one canal alone, and that in an incomplete state, more than a million human beings were fed by its produce in 1860 ;" and the writer well remembers on that occasion the cry for water, and the satisfaction which its arrival caused among all the cultivators. Only those who had the distribution of this water can fully appreciate the good effect such works must have on a population like that of India. Nay, the writer believes that if every stream which now flows to waste from Oude to Peshawur, were turned into irrigation-canals, we should have a far greater military command of the country. For although no one would ever dream of closing a canal to quell a rebellion, yet the moral effect of our having the power to do so, would at once make the industrious cultivators side with us in keeping the indolent and rebellious in order.

The effect, therefore, of having half-a-dozen more canals like those from the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Ravee, would possibly enable us to dispense with at least half-a-dozen European regiments; or at all events, in the event of a war on the frontier, few troops need be left behind to overawe that portion of Hindoostan, which produces the most warlike races of India. Therefore, for political causes alone, there is every reason why a regular system of irrigation-canals should be carried out in Oude, the North-west, and the Punjab; leaving out of view the far higher cause of humanity.

But on financial grounds it may be asked why should there be any difficulty or hesitation, when year after year we have convincing proofs that even as to pounds, shillings, and pence, irrigation-works do pay, and in a pecuniary point of view promise to pay better than any other speculation we can possibly invest money in.

For immediate returns we should not look to canals as the best sort of investment, unless an investor intends to enrich his son or grandson; for there must be a great outlay at first, with no returns for several years, as until the whole line is completed the canal cannot be opened. The most expensive works, also, are those near the heads; and till they are constructed no water can be admitted. Again, it is a work of time to make the thousands of miles of distribution-channels, and still more to induce a class of people naturally averse to change, to take water. They are influenced either by the idea that it will do no good, and if they got on well before, they can do so still; or by the fear that they cannot depend on the regularity of its supply; or that the land-rents will be enhanced; or, lastly, that all the good the cultivators will derive will have to be paid away in bribes to the establishment. All these difficulties have to be met and contended against by the canal officers when a canal is first opened. Besides the loss caused by the bursting of new and unconsolidated embankments, any flaw in the works scattered over hundreds of square miles, any mistake in the levels extending over thousands of miles in length, a rat-hole or—worse—a hole made by a villager, are all soon found out by running water; and in a country where evaporation is so great, unless the case be inspected at once, it is no easy matter to determine if the injury is an accident or done intentionally.\* At page 3 of the writer's pamphlet on the Ganges Canal, the system of irrigation as practised in the North-Western Provinces is adverted to, and he there speaks of 4000 villages having obtained water in 1861-62, when the revenue was little over 35,000*l.*; but what must the number be now, when in 1865-66 it amounted to 135,000*l.*, and this year now passed, somewhere probably between a sixth or a seventh of one million pounds sterling? Perhaps are long it will equal a third of a million yearly.

It is evident that when this is the case with only one canal, there must be little short of 100,000 villages receiving water when irrigation comes to be fully developed. As each village has, on an average, 200 fields receiving water for different descriptions of crops, with different rates charged on each, the time must soon come, if it be not reached already, when a complete reform must take place in the system of collecting water-rents—a question quite as important to India as the Corn-laws were to England.

\* During the famine year the writer suspected that some villagers were in the habit of taking more water than their proper share, and depriving others of their right. A trap was laid, and in one night thirty-two of these biped rats were detected in the act of stealing water. When the lives of thousands depended on the exertions of the canal officers, every means had to be tried to have it fairly distributed. One good plan was to send one's camp in one direction, and for the officer to go in another; but even then expresses were dispatched, and warning given of the officer's approach.

Though no doubt it is proper that water-taxes must be levied, yet it should be done in such a manner that there should be the least possible inconvenience to the public (called by some "oppression" on the part of the canal establishment); and the numerous doors now open to collusion and fraud on the part of the establishment and cultivators should be closed. Possibly, at starting, no other system than the present could be devised; but the writer is of opinion that the time has arrived when a strict inquiry should be made into the subject, and for this purpose he would suggest that a mixed commission should be appointed to investigate this important question.

In the opinion of the writer the chairman should be of higher standing in the service than a commissioner of a division; for commissioners and chief engineers would have to give evidence before the commission as well as collectors and canal officers, down to the tiller of the soil. The commission should therefore be mixed, representing finance, engineering, natural science, medicine, agriculture, and commerce. No officer should sit on the commission immediately connected with irrigation, as he may have preconceived ideas on the subject; but all classes from the rajah to the ryot should be called on to give evidence.

From the experience gained by the writer, it appears to him that the first step is to completely separate the engineering from the financial duties, as is done on the railways. Let the engineer construct the canals and water-courses in the first instance, and hand the latter over to the irrigation officer. The engineer would then be responsible for keeping up a proper supply of water, and seeing that the main lines of canal were in proper working order; while the irrigation officer would have to account for the manner in which this water was disposed of. Having an officer set apart for this duty alone, some system or other of contracts, either by volume of discharge, as proposed by the late Colonel Baird Smith, or an agreement entered into for a certain number of years with the villagers, or possibly hereafter certain water-courses may be sold.

This commission would have an arduous duty to perform, for the subjects to be investigated are multifarious and of great variety; but not more numerous or more varying in their character than the opinions on each and all of them held by canal officers. Time will not permit entering into details, but it appears to the writer, that the great object should be the conservancy of the water, and spreading the benefits of irrigation over the greatest possible area; while he believes that it would be better to look to indirect returns of revenue, rather than direct taxation on water supplied. From the experience gained by the writer, he is of opinion that the first step is to completely separate revenue from engineering duties, and for the former class of duties, officials selected from various branches of the service should be appointed, on account of their special qualifications, who would in time simplify the work of the settlement officer, the collector, and the canal engineer; in short, that they would have to receive over and attend to all artificial improvements of the country, connected with irrigation, wells, tanks, and canals, as well as drainage-works, for the latter class of works in connection with canals are required to prevent injury by over-irrigation, as large areas are being destroyed, where formerly there was rich cultivation, by the presence of a salt called "Reh" covering the fields. On this subject, among the highest authorities, opinions differ; some thinking that it comes from the canal water, others that it already exists in the land, and is forced up by the rising of the springs. With the last opinion the writer agrees, and thinks that drainage is required; but he cannot occupy more time on this branch of the subject, but must pass on to the question as to the construction of irrigation-canals. On this important question, also, there is the same diversity of opinion, headed by the two most eminent engineers the British Government has yet produced. The writer having already made public his views upon this subject, will now simply state that he believes natural causes can be assigned for difference being required in the design and construction of canals in Northern and Southern India; namely, causes due to the different geological formations of the Catchment basins, the rocks of the former being chiefly of aqueous formation, and the latter crystalline. Nay, he also believes that it is on this account that the great rivers which fall into the Bay of Bengal at its head and on its eastern side, are so navigable at their mouths, as they discharge chiefly *mud*, while those on the western side of the Bay are so difficult of approach from the sea, for they bring down chiefly *coarse sand*.

As to internal communications, the writer believes that roads, railways, and canals are all required for transport, and that each will help the other in the distribution of the necessities and luxuries of life, and intercommunication of the inhabitants; nay,



that the military defences of the country, with the aid of small forts, can at the same time be made more perfect, at a less cost of European life, if not also in a pecuniary point of view; for then our European fellow-countrymen could be collected in larger masses near the most important cities, and be seen by the inhabitants under canvas in the cold season, where their appearance would be more imposing, while during the heats of summer the British soldier could be in a European climate among the hills, enjoying the humanizing influences of a home, with a healthy race of children springing up around him.

Thus the material improvement of India would be advanced and secured at the least possible cost of European life to England.

The views here given are not those of a day or a year. This paper was written two years ago; but every suggestion now made is the result of observations extending over several years; but it is only now, when more attention is paid to Indian subjects, that the writer ventures to bring forward his views as to the future internal improvement of India; and, in conclusion, he perhaps cannot do better than quote a few extracts from a letter of his which appeared in the Calcutta 'Engineers' Journal,' of October 1, 1867, which will, it is hoped, give a clear idea of the benefits of irrigation. The object of this letter was to prove:—"1st. That the surplus grain due to the irrigation from the Ganges Canal, during 1865-66, probably prevented the loss of as many lives in Bengal, as perished during that same year from starvation in Orissa. 2nd. That last year (1866-67) the saving to the country by the Ganges Canal, amounted to about 2½ millions sterling, or more than the total outlay on the canal up to the present moment." There are then various statistics given, into which I need not go now. This diagram [pointing to a diagram in the Journal] will show how the price of food was higher, the farther away from the irrigated districts. The result of it is this:—"As only two-thirds of the whole area of the Doab is cultivated, we have, where all the culturable land is irrigated, one square mile of the canal lands sufficient to support 1319 people."\* I also found by the calculations that above 100,000 tons of grain must have been sent down from the highly irrigated districts, independently of what went down by boats from Oude during 1865-66; and that was sufficient to feed for a year three-quarters of a million, or about the number of people who perished in Orissa that same year. Then I conclude by saying:—"The above facts, with the deductions arrived at, it is to be hoped, will give many of your readers a clearer conception of the enormous interests at stake; while at the same time it will show why for these last six years I have striven, in season and out of season, to prevent what I foresaw must have brought ruin on the country (namely, closing the Ganges Canal for repairs for one whole year or more). Now, however, that fortunately the canal is proved not to be a 'stupendous failure,' as some thought, we may look on this great work as an investment by Government to insure the lives of its subjects against starvation. Supposing that the canal has, up to the present, cost 2½ millions sterling, it fed however no less a number of human beings last year, many of whom must have starved but for it. The insurance of 1½ sterling certainly is no very great amount to sink as capital to guarantee each of our Indian subjects against starvation for ever after, with a further probable reduction to a still lower rate of 15s. a-head, or perhaps less, when the irrigation becomes fully developed. When, however, it also comes to be known that even *bad* as the Ganges Canal has been said to be, the profits are even now probably exceeding 5 per cent., it is to be hoped that the public, ere long, will admit that this greatest of all works of its kind has neither been a failure in an engineering or a financial point of view." (Hear, hear.)

CHAIRMAN.—Would any gentleman wish to offer any remarks upon any portion of the paper which Mr. Login has been kind enough to read to us.

MR. LOGIN.—Before any observations are made, I wish to say that the calculations which appear in the letter from which I have read extracts, are made on the supposition that 5000 cubic feet a-second was the volume discharged by the Ganges Canal; but returns have, since that date, come to hand which show that it is only 4500 feet, or rather more than 4500 feet. Therefore, one-ninth has to be deducted from the results arrived at; so that instead of 2½ millions, 2¼ millions was the saving, while the cost was only 2½ millions. Also, I wish to state that in this letter I showed that

\* At p. 128 of Lieut. Scott Moncrieff's interesting work on 'Irrigation in Southern Europe,' it is stated the lands irrigated by the Turia canals in Valencia support a population of no less than 1774 souls per square mile.

100,000 tons must have been sent down the country, whereas, by the railway returns, the East India Railway alone sent down upwards of 105,000 tons in 1865-6.

Colonel SYKES, M.P.—I think the general propositions contained in Mr. Login's paper are quite sound; and with respect to the matter of irrigation, undoubtedly they are so. The natives of India have long been aware of the necessity of irrigation. In the Deccan, for instance, long before we thought of employing ourselves in irrigation, their lands were all proportionably assessed when watered. What is called "The Moht Stuhl" were lands watered from wells, and the "Paat Stuhl" lands were watered by channels or rivulets conducted from the hills. There is a fixed assessment upon these lands separately for each mode of watering. This state of things exists all over the Deccan within 60 or 70 miles of the Western Ghauts. The natives themselves, therefore, have been quite aware of the advantages of irrigation. Those lands produce an infinitely greater profit to the Government than the dry lands. But I must say that the principles laid down by Mr. Login cannot be universally applied, because the fall of rain in different parts of India varies from 8 to 10 inches in Lower Scinde, to 50 feet or 600 inches annually at Chirra Poonja, at the head of the Bay of Bengal. At Mahabuleshwur, in the Western Ghauts, there has been a maximum rain-fall of 400 inches in one year, and along the Western Ghauts generally the rain-fall is rarely under 200 inches; while at from 25 to 30 miles eastward of the Ghauts the average is only 25 inches; and as you go farther eastward towards Sholapoor, it is even less than that. Therefore, any system of canals applicable to Northern India for water-supply, would be totally unsuited to Western India. I have published some observations with regard to these facts that I am stating; still the broad principle stated by Mr. Login to insure water-supply and to regulate its application, is not only sound, but highly politic. It is certain that it enhances the value of the lands to the Government for assessment, and any outlay which the Government may embark in is sure in the end to secure a profitable result. With regard to the Ganges Canal, I recollect that it was very much run down, and pronounced to be an absolute failure by a very distinguished engineer officer, and that Sir Prolay Cantley had to defend himself by a good number of pamphlets which were also rebutted by that engineer officer. Nevertheless, I am glad to find from what Mr. Login says, that the canal is now at all events proving that, so far from its being a failure, it will be a profitable investment of money. But whether it had or had not been a profitable investment of money as far as the Government is concerned, as Mr. Login has justly said, if it were only for warding off famine and saving human life, it is still unquestionably a profitable investment in a moral as well as physical sense. I therefore entirely concur with Mr. Login in thinking that the extension of that system of irrigation should be speedily promoted in every possible way. I entirely agree with him also in thinking that the control of the engineering works should be entirely separate and distinct from any revenue operations resulting from the engineering works. Those two operations should be entirely distinct. It does not appear to me that their union is at all compatible. Now, with regard to the silting up of rivers, of which Mr. Login speaks; in Western India, there are no navigable rivers with a course long enough to silt up. The Ghauts in which they have their source are within 25 or 30 miles of the whole coast from Damann down to Cape Comorin.

Mr. LOGIN.—I said the west side of the Bay of Bengal.

Colonel SYKES.—I beg pardon; I thought you meant the west side of India. All the great rivers that come into the Bay of Bengal originate in the Western Ghauts, except those which originate near Candeish, the Tapty, and the Nerbuddah. They run to the west, whilst all the others run south-east. The Godavery, the Beema, Krishna, and others, run in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal. It is a remarkable fact with regard to the amount of rain which falls on the coast, that the amount diminishes with the latitude from the south going north along the western coast of India. From upwards of 150 inches in Travancore it diminishes gradually along the coast, being 132 between Cannanore and Goa, 72 at Bombay, and at Kurrachee next to none at all. The reason that there is none at Kurrachee is that the temperature of the air is greater than that of the clouds which pass over Lower Scinde, and they cannot therefore be condensed into rain; and it is only when they impinge upon the mountain range of Scinde that they meet with a colder temperature, and the aqueous vapour is immediately condensed into rain, because the air at each degree of temperature can only hold in suspension a definite quantity of aqueous

vapour, and any quantity beyond saturation falls in rain. Mr. Login will see from the above statements that his system of irrigation must be adapted to such conditions.

Mr. BAREGS.—I was hoping that some gentleman more able than myself would stand up to make a few observations, and now that I have risen to speak, I must say that my interest and my sympathies are so entirely with the writer of the paper, that I really have not got much to say. I go with him through thick and thin, for I believe that everything he has said is quite right. It appears to me that there is something more to be thought of besides the utility of the question of irrigation. Some gentleman, I do not know whether it was our Chairman, at the opening of this session said something about belling the cat. We all agree, as the mice in the fable did, that the cat should be belled; but then we are in the same difficulty as the mice were when they held a consultation, and none could tell how the thing was to be done. (A laugh.) The question is, How are we to irrigate? How are the funds to be raised? What about the cost? Now it appears to me very feasible, and in fact, I might say almost in a nutshell: let the Government take the same system of dealing with the lands as we have in this country. Let every acre belong to somebody besides the Government; and then every man who has an interest in the soil will see that he ought to contribute something towards benefiting himself. It is a question which interests from 150 to 180 millions of people; and if they were all interested in the way which I suggest, there would be such a pressure from without upon Government that they could not help irrigating the country. They would be forced to do it. Labour, when wedded to the soil, is the first source of wealth. Therefore I say, let our Government contrive some way of wedding labour to the soil, and then we shall find the means to irrigate India. (Hear, hear.) I would suggest that Mr. Login's paper be printed and circulated amongst the members, and the discussion of the paper adjourned to some other evening.

Colonel SYKES.—It requires the diagrams to make it intelligible.

The CHAIRMAN.—I should think the diagrams could be published with the paper. Now Mr. Login will say a few words, if no other gentleman wishes to speak.

Mr. LOGIN.—I have very little to say in reply. I merely want to explain these diagrams; and if they are understood by the gentlemen present it will save a great deal of time. [Mr. Login then explained the diagrams (only one of which could be got ready in time for press), but necessarily in so technical a manner that a report would be unintelligible; he then resumed.] You see the general slope of the Rechna Doab in the Punjab would be about the quadrant of an ellipse. You see the green shade represents the extent of the cultivation up to the present time. Beyond this it is all desert straight down to Scinde. The spring-water in the wells is represented by blue lines. The upper blue dotted line shows the rain-fall. The rain-fall at Cheanot is only 4 inches a-year. As it advances to the hills on the parallel of Lahore it is 16·24; at Sealkote it is 30 inches, and at Jummoo it is 60. This diagram also shows the present and the probable revenue, once the Rechna Doab is irrigated, an increase from 50,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* yearly.

I must now call your attention to the diagram showing the financial state of the Ganges Canal, which illustrates my paper on irrigation.\*

The upper dotted line is the line showing what the receipts of revenue would probably have been had there been no mutiny or accident to the works, had all gone on smoothly.

If, after the mutiny, everything had gone on smoothly, it would have followed the division between the full horizontal and slope lines.

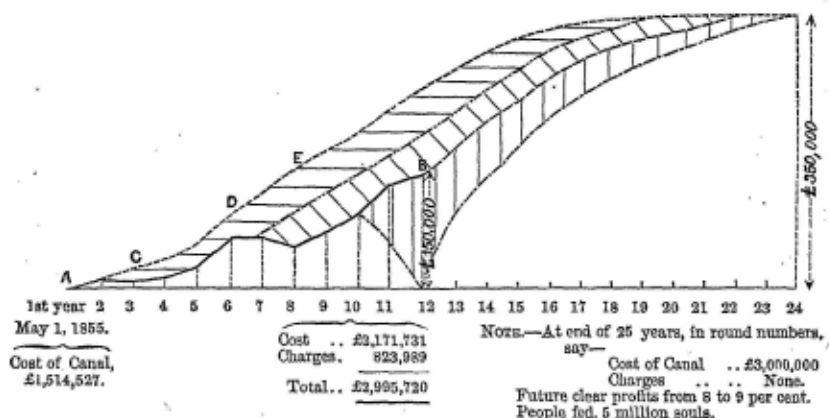
Unfortunately an accident happened in 1862 which caused a falling-off in revenue; consequently there has been a further loss every year since, amounting on the whole to somewhere between 500,000*l.* and 600,000*l.*—for confidence once lost it takes many years to regain it.

The proposed remodelling of the canal would have deprived Government of the revenue altogether; consequently the dotted line would have come down to zero, and it would have deprived the country of that year's irrigation altogether, so it would take several more years before it could recover itself, or there would probably have been a still further loss of two-thirds of a million pounds sterling to the State, and is shown by full vertical lines.

\* Read before the Institution of Civil Engineers on the 21st of April, 1869.

Now the total cost of this canal at the end of twenty-five years is supposed will be 3,000,000*l.*, and it is calculated that then all the 5 per cent. charges would be paid off, and that at that time it would be returning from 8 to 9 per cent. in direct returns, and feeding 5,000,000 people.

## FINANCIAL STATE OF THE GANGES CANAL.



NOTE.—AB Full line, is the actual revenue up to 1867.

C 1857. The Mutiny.

D 1860. The Famine.

E 1862. The accident to Canal.

Full horizontal lines show probable loss of revenue by Mutiny = £600,000.

Full sloping lines, loss by accident = £565,000.

Full vertical lines, probable loss had the Canal been closed for remodelling = £645,000.

Colonel SYKES.—Twenty-five years from what date?

Mr. LOGIN.—From the date of starting.

Colonel SYKES.—What year was that?

Mr. LOGIN.—1855; therefore it will be in 1880. Now with respect to the other canals, this [pointing] is the Eastern Jumna Canal. This red line shows the loss where the outlay and percentage exceeded the income, and you see that for a number of years there was very little done to the work. It was an old Mahometan canal, and the revenue for several years was rather small. Immediately some money was spent on it the black line rose, and the red one gradually disappears, so that now the state of this canal is this:—The actual outlay on original works was 167,859*l.*, the charges of management 420,000*l.*, making a total of upwards of 588,000*l.* The total income during this period, up to 1864, was 416,000*l.*, so that there is a difference of 170,000*l.* odd; but you see that this line of loss has almost disappeared, and in a very short time it will vanish altogether; whereas with this old "Delhi Canal," now called the "Western Jumna Canal," made by Ali Murdan Khan, the 5 per cent. line has disappeared long ago, and the actual state of the canal is this: cost, 212,900*l.*; charges or current expenses, 713,043*l.*; that is for keeping it in repair and all charges for forty-three years; the total expenditure is 925,943*l.*, and the total income up to that year is 986,645*l.*, showing a clear profit of 60,702*l.*; so that work has cost Government nothing, and we are getting in all this income from it.

Mr. BRIGGS.—What is the annual income from it?

Mr. LOGIN.—The annual income from this canal was about 39,705*l.* in 1866-7; the year of the famine, 46,331*l.*; but this year it is much more than the last year or two. It will be very much more on account of the drought.

Mr. BRIGGS.—Do we understand that as the black line runs upward the income runs up with it?

Mr. LOGIN.—The black line shows the actual revenue according to the scale of the diagram.

Mr. BRIGGS.—We ought to have come here a day or two ago to study these things.

Mr. LOGIN.—If the diagrams are published with the paper, of course you will be able to understand all that I have said better.

Colonel SYKES.—You have not given us a hint about the canal forcing us to abandon that cantonment.

Mr. LOGIN.—That cantonment of Kurnaul was abandoned owing to the overflowing of the Jumna, and not to the canal. The European barracks were built on the slopes of the Khadur rather than on the high ground behind; and the proper way to get rid of the marshes is by draining the wheels back into the desert, and using that water for irrigation.

Colonel SYKES.—The truth is, that all the cantonments in India have been stuck down hap-hazard.

Mr. LOGIN.—The European barracks certainly have been put down at the wrong place. There is a proposition now for remodelling the canal; but my opinion is, that the whole of the marsh land should be drained back into the desert, and not into the river, as I believe is intended.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sure you will all agree with me in giving our best thanks to Mr. Login for the very interesting and valuable paper that he has now read to us, which is a great addition to what we have done in bringing this subject of the importance of Indian irrigation before the public and the Government. I believe from what I have heard of the views of the Marquis of Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, the Duke of Argyll, and Lord Mayo, that they are fully alive to the importance of carrying out the irrigation of India; and I imagine that the only difficulty, as Mr. Briggs says, is with respect to how it is to be done. I am one of those who agree with the people, who say that the Government should not take the revenues of India for the purpose of these public works, but that they should raise the money in this country, or wherever it can be got. Under these circumstances, when the day comes, as I hope it will, for a public loan to be raised for the purposes of irrigation, such a paper as Mr. Login's will be of the greatest possible use in giving the necessary information to those who intend to take shares in that loan. I now propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Login for his excellent paper. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BANNAJEE.—I have very great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. Login. The subject with which his paper deals is one of the greatest importance to India, and I hope the day will soon come when irrigation will be carried out to the largest possible extent.

The vote of thanks was unanimously carried.

Dr. Dutt proposed and Mr. Briggs seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was also unanimously carried.

*Postscript.*—Possibly I have not in the body of my paper stated with sufficient distinctness what I mean by "a want or excess of moisture;" and in the discussion I quite overlooked this subject altogether.

What I wish to be understood by the above expression is, that it is not the quantity of rain which may fall on any particular spot, which may be 50, 100, or even 200 or more inches in the year, and yet do no harm; but the injury done is by an over-excess of moisture lying on, or too near the surface, which is to be provided against.

For example, I found in the Puttree Valley in 1860, the year of the famine, that where the spring level of the water did not approach nearer than 18 inches to the surface, the crops were benefited by irrigation; but where the springs approached nearer, the crops (wheat, barley, &c.) deteriorated, till at 12 inches they disappeared, and nothing but grass would grow.

At less than 6 inches the grass became stunted more and more as the surface of the spring water approached the surface of the ground, till it in its turn also disappeared and gave place to rank vegetation.

I may here also mention that on the sandy plains in the Punjaub I observed that wherever trees were permitted to grow (and grow they will if protected), there was always a small patch of grass. This leads me to suppose that trees attract moisture from the atmosphere as well as give it out, but possibly this growth of grass around the trees may be accounted for, by the trees themselves preventing too great an evaporation; but I am inclined to believe in the former supposition and not the latter.

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EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

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MEETING, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1869.

COLONEL SYKES, M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Captain J. H. NOTT read the Minutes of the preceding Meeting.

Captain NOTT then read a Paper on the

*Agricultural and Commercial Condition and Prospects of the Godavery District (Madras Presidency, East India), with especial reference to Irrigation and Navigation Works.* By W. BOWDEN, jun., of Cocanada.

IRRIGATION and Navigation works in India, in connection with opening up and developing the resources of that vast country, are now being much discussed. Having reason to believe that some further information on this subject is not only much needed, but will help to deepen the interest already felt and assist in the formation of right views, I am induced to submit a few facts and opinions, gathered during a residence of several years in the Godavery district, being engaged for the last fourteen years in farming largely under the Irrigation system. These statements and remarks will chiefly refer to the Irrigation and Navigation works of the Godavery Delta,—the general condition of the district,—the revenue assessment rules,—the opinions and feelings of the ryots,—the need of agriculture and other improvements,—the future commercial prosperity of the district,—and the superior advantages and prospects of Cocanada to all other ports on the Coromandel coast.

*Extent and Condition of Works in the Godavery District.*—The principal Irrigation and Navigation works in the Godavery district consist of a weir across the River Godavery, between the Dowlaishwarum and Vigasverum, about 140 miles from the sea-coast, from the head of which the water passes through the locks and head-slucées into three main canals. That on the east side is divided into three branches, and communicates with Cocanada, Coringa, and Samulcottah; that in the centre conveys water down the Delta: and that on the west by one branch reaches Paleole and Nansapore, and by another connects the river Kistua with the Godavery at the town of Ellore.

These works, projected by Sir Arthur Cotton, were commenced twenty-one years ago, but are still in an unfinished state. Several large and important parts of the original plan, though approved by Government, remain untouched; as, for instance, the construction of a low-level coast canal to connect Cocanada with Nansapore, and another from Nansapore to Ellore. The cost of the works already executed has amounted to about 500,000*l.*, which outlay is now yielding by the water assessment about 50 per cent. This would seem a sufficiently profitable return to warrant not only the maintenance of the present works in an effective condition, but also the completion of the original scheme. But although estimates for the works have received Government sanction, the sum of about 150,000*l.*, necessary for their execution, has not yet been granted, nor is even a sufficiency of means allowed to keep the existing works in proper order. The result of this policy is that the usefulness of the works is greatly contracted, and their value decreasing every year, through the *silting up* of the canals by alluvial matter brought down by the water, and the rapid growth of *weeds*, impeding both navigation and irrigation. This evil is aggravated by the fact that the introduction of the works have brought in changes in the modes and cost of cultivation which are seriously affected by insufficient irrigation. Such portions of the district inefficiently irrigated and drained are worse off than in former years. Formerly several descriptions of crops, such as chollum, grains or beans, castor oil-seed, and paddy (or rice), broad cast were raised without irrigation; chillies, Gingerly oil-seed, onions, and raggy, with partial irrigation; sugar cane and paddy (or rice), trans-

planted with irrigation. But the whole system of cultivation being now so necessarily changed, admits of nothing but transplanted paddy crops. The Godavery works are not the only ones to whom these remarks apply.

But incomplete as these works are, they have served to prove the invaluable benefits which would result from a *completed* and *well* worked system. The scarcity of rain in 1865-66, in all parts of India, causing distressing *famines* in *Orissa*, was severely felt in the Godavery district. In 1866 the Gingerly seed crop, which is mainly dependent upon rain, almost totally failed, while portions of the rice crop of that season were just saved by irrigation, and proved sufficient both for the wants of the district and to allow of 12,000 tons being exported to other parts of the empire.

*Supply of Water.*—That the present supply, even for the monsoon crop, is inadequate, the following figures will prove:—6000 cubic yards of water are required for one acre of paddy cultivation; spreading the distribution of this quantity over six months, an acre requires at the rate of about one and a half cubic yards per hour, or one and a half million cubic yards, for the cultivation of the one million acres under the canals. This calculation supposes the works to be in a condition to utilize all the stream without waste, and does not take into consideration the evaporation before reaching the fields. The stream of the river during some portions of the dry season is only about 300,000 cubic yards per hour, or just sufficient for one-fifth of the area. The great end to be aimed at is the supply of water during the dry season, and the frequent periods of draught. The value of this supply will depend upon its being sufficient to allow of the early cultivation of the monsoon crop of paddy. Reasons for this early cultivation are numerous and strong. Experience in the Godavery district has proved that it secures a much larger percentage of grain than late tillage—in the former the average is 1600 lbs. per acre, while in the latter 1000 lbs. at most. The cultivation of the monsoon crop is also less expensive when effected in the hot season than during the rains; labour is more abundant, the weather more favourable, the soil more easily worked, ploughing less difficult, and in some cases no ploughing at all needed. This is a matter seriously affecting the ryot, as his prosperity will increasingly depend on his ability to cultivate during this season. Labour is becoming scarcer and more expensive every year, and unless work can be distributed over a larger period of time, it will be impossible to cultivate all the irrigated lands during the monsoon. The utilizing of labour, which would otherwise be unemployed during the hot season, is therefore one of the main advantages afforded by irrigation.

*Dry Season Crops.*—The successful cultivation of these crops, such as Delva rice, Gingerly oil-seed, and of garden produce in general, is also dependent upon a sufficient irrigation. With such aid these valuable crops might be largely cultivated, but without it they can rarely be grown at all. Attempts at sugar-cane cultivation have been made in various parts, but have failed from the want of water—the little that is grown is chiefly owing to irrigation works. The average quantity of sugar exported in the shape of jaggery, in the years 1865-66, was about 3000 tons, besides that consumed in the district or sent into the interior—ten times this quantity would be grown with continuous irrigation. Dalva or dry season crop of paddy, Gingerly oil-seed, onions, chillies, &c., are all valuable crops, and would be extensively cultivated if dependence could be placed on the dry season irrigation, which has hitherto been totally inadequate.

It is of great importance that the water should be evenly distributed in sufficient quantities through the whole assessed lands, each part receiving at all seasons a fair proportion. Justice to the assessed ryots, and the necessities of the country, alike demand this. To afford such a supply means must be adopted so as to store the water that it shall be available for the requirements of the whole year.

*Drainage.*—Equal in importance to irrigation is drainage. Inattention to this subject in the Godavery district has been followed by evil results. Tracks of land, instead of being fruitful fields, are deluged with excess of water and overgrown with gigantic weeds, harbouring water-fowl in such numbers that it is almost impossible to prevent the destruction of surrounding crops. The constant employment of watchmen through a season of seven months is scarcely sufficient to check their ravages. Land which is not drained, and on which water is standing at the time of harvest, is rapidly overgrown with weeds, and also soon hardens as the water evaporates. The preparation of such lands for crops is both laborious and expensive. The rank vegetation—such as elephant-grass, strong creepers, &c.—require to be cut and removed before ploughing; while ploughing has to be repeated, in order that the weed-roots, some of which penetrate a considerable depth into the ground, may be destroyed; yet after all



this care and toil it is not an uncommon thing to see the weeds again spring up and choke the young plants. The native ploughs and miserable bullocks are ill fitted for the culture of such ground. The work is likewise much disliked by the labourers, among other reasons, because of the leeches which abound in the grasses, and prove a constant source of painful annoyance. High rates of wages have therefore to be paid. These facts have operated to throw a great deal of what, if properly drained, would be valuable land entirely out of tillage. Especial reference must be made to a certain class of land, which, to use a native term, has become *raava*, that is, unfit for cultivation—not even a blade of grass will grow upon it. In addition to the disadvantages thus briefly mentioned, is the fact that the crops of undrained lands have to be harvested in water. This not only involves a large extra amount of labour, but a considerable loss of produce. Much waste is unavoidably caused by the sheaves having to be bound in their wet state and carried through water, often a distance of 400 yards, on the heads of labourers to some elevated spot to be dried. The produce also suffers in quality, as under such circumstances it can seldom be secured in good condition. The waste of labour, too, in these operations, at a season when it requires economizing, is a matter of serious importance.

Paddy lands require drainage, as well as irrigation; the growing crops being greatly benefited by having the depth of water regulated, and being, on certain soils, occasionally thoroughly dried.

The loss of cattle from causes connected with the want of drainage is immense. In some parts of the district, having to stand about in water almost from the time they move out of the sheds, and feeding upon watery grasses and the innutritious straw grown in deep water, the poor animals are subject to diseases which annually destroy 5 per cent.

The health of the population also suffers in these undrained parts. From December to February *fevers* are prevalent, and often prove fatal. Much of this sickness and mortality is caused by the shallow waters lying upon the surface of the country, which, being filled with decomposing vegetable matter, emit intolerable stenches and deadly miasma.

Such facts lead to the conclusion that by a thorough system of drainage not only would agricultural operations be facilitated, crops improved, and cattle saved, but the sanitary condition of the country greatly benefited.

*Cost of Cultivation and Value of Produce.*—From the facts already stated, it will be inferred that the cost of cultivation and the value of produce will largely depend upon the state of irrigation and drainage. To prove and illustrate this more fully, it will be well to describe the several parts of the district, looking at the facts of each, and marking their comparative prosperity or otherwise.

#### I. LANDS BOTH WELL IRRIGATED AND DRAINED.

These grow the most valuable crops, such as sugar-cane, chillies, onions, turmeric, yams, plantains, &c., which vary in value from 5*l.* to 15*l.* per acre. Sugar-cane, for example, will yield 5000 lbs. of jaggery (or uncrystallized sugar) per acre, which is worth about 15*l.* The cost of cultivation, including rent, water-assessment, and manufacture, say, from 10*l.* to 12*l.*

#### II. LANDS SUPPLIED WITH EARLY IRRIGATION, AND SUFFICIENTLY DRAINED FOR PADDY.

The cost per acre would be—rent, 4*s.*; water-assessment, 8*s.*; cultivation, 12*s.*: total, 24*s.* The average yield of 1600 lbs. paddy, at 30*s.* per 1250 lbs., 38*s.* 4*d.* A second or dry-season crop of paddy may be obtained, and on light soils Gingerly oil-seed can also be grown; but the short supply of water prevents the cultivation of these crops. Second crop of paddy averages 1000 lbs. per acre, which is worth about 21*s.*, and is raised at a cost of 18*s.*, including 8*s.* additional water-rate. The straw of this crop is much more nutritious as fodder than that of the monsoon harvest. Hemp seed is also sown on these lands after paddy, and, being cut when in flower and dried, makes excellent hay.

#### III. LANDS ONLY PARTIALLY IRRIGATED AND IMPERFECTLY DRAINED.

The following figures, exhibiting actual facts, show that these parts of the district are often cultivated at a loss:—

Rent and water, 12*s.*; cost of tillage, 14*s.*: total, 26*s.* Average yield, 1000 lbs. paddy, value 24*s.*



## IV. LANDS ONLY PARTIALLY IRRIGATED AND NOT DRAINED.

The yield from which is most precarious, and unless tilled very early no dependence can be placed upon the crop. It will be seen that while the expenses are unusually high the returns are barely sufficient to meet Government demand.

Rent and water, 12s.; cultivation, 16s.: total, 28s. Value of crop, 500 lbs., 12s.

## V. LANDS UNIRRIGATED, BUT FLOODED DURING THE MONSOON.

On these cultivation is impossible; and land which might be yielding 12s. per acre to Government, and producing crops averaging 1250 lbs., worth 30s., are lying in a state worse than utterly useless.

From these estimates, based upon the result of twelve years' observation and practical experience in farming, will be seen the immense advantages of an early and continuous supply of water, coupled with good drainage, in ensuring profits, ranging from 14s. to 5l. per acre, according to the completeness of the system. On the other hand, insufficient irrigation and bad drainage are ruinous to the ryot and causes of loss to Government, as shown in Estimates III., IV., and V. The first of these cases shows a loss of 2s. per acre; the second of 16s.; and the third an entire loss of revenue to the Government and of produce to the country. With this state of things, arising mainly from the present incomplete and inefficient condition of the works, can it be wondered at, that the ryots in these unirrigated and undrained parts of the district should be not only poor but deeply involved in debt. It may here be mentioned ryots have to pay 24s. to 30s. per cent. interest for money and paddy they borrow from the merchants.

## REVENUE AND SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT RULES.

By the new Revenue Settlement Rules the whole district was rated as under dry cultivation, and an additional water-rate was charged upon those portions lying below the level of the canals. In levying this rate it was erroneously and unjustly assumed that all these lands were actually supplied both with the means of irrigation and drainage, an assessment of 6s. per acre per crop being at first charged, and afterwards raised to 8s. The payment of this rate upon all lands so classed was rigidly enforced, and thousands of acres which could derive no advantage whatever from the existing works were unjustly taxed. The evil of this soon appeared. A large extent of land was immediately relinquished, the ryots being unable to pay this additional tax without the least prospect of obtaining irrigation, when it would be profitable to cultivate, while deep discontent and endless complaints prevailed. This continued for some years without receiving the attention it demanded; and it was not till the ryots of some villages were entirely ruined, having all they possessed distrained and sold to meet their oppressive claims, and others who had lost all were upon the point of being sent to jail as revenue defaulters, that any serious notice was taken of this state of things. The framers of the rules seemed to have ignored the existence of the ryots as a class who looked upon the lands as their own property, subject only to the payment of the annual Government demand in the shape of rent. By the authority of Government the practice of out-bidding each other had been abolished, and thus the permanent occupation of the same land had been secured: nor could the rent be raised without their acquiescence. These facts had confirmed the ryots in the opinion of their permanent proprietorship, and had stimulated them to improved cultivation of their lands. It is true that in return for the annual 8s. per acre compulsory water-rate it was proposed to give the ryots a permanent title to the lands so held; but the ryots regarded this as the addition of insult to injury. It appears to them that they are thus offered in name that which they already possess in fact, and offered it on conditions which are impolitic and unjust; namely, the annual payment of a heavy charge for water, whether they require it or not. Had the assessment officials been content to revise the rents, and respected the rights of the ryots, leaving them free to take the water or not, much greater satisfaction would have been given, and more land would have continued under rental. It would seem from the adoption of this compulsory rate that doubts existed as to whether the ryots would use the water, but on this point there need not have been any fears. The willingness of cultivators to avail themselves of the supply is proved by the fact that every available acre is brought under tillage when water can be obtained at proper seasons, and the assessment under such circumstances is readily paid. An attempt has been recently made to lessen these evils by the exemption of certain lands from water assessment, by

which those parts of the district on which dry grain crops can be raised are benefited.

*Collection of the Water Assessment.*—In the collection of revenue the ryot is entirely at the mercy of Government, who not only claim the proprietorship of the soil, but also have the monopoly of the water-supply in their own hands, and against whom there is no appeal. The most arbitrary rules for collection of revenue are in force, and the lowest officials can distrain and sell property. The heads of department seldom personally investigate any complaint, however unjustly made. The subordinates do as they please, and it is not too much to say that a great deal of corruption takes place. The results are, Government is defrauded, justice miscarries, and the poor are oppressed. It can be no matter of surprise that the operation of these rules has done more to prejudice the ryots against the introduction of public works than anything else, except the unsatisfactory condition of the works themselves. It may be likewise easy to understand why the ryots in Orissa have been so backward to accept the water offered to them by the East India Irrigation Company; they have certainly heard of the Godavery works, and doubtless fear lest their experience should prove similar to that of many parts of that district.

*Navigation.*—The prosperity of the Godavery district has been much promoted by the construction of navigable canals, the maintenance and the efficient working of which cannot fail to aid still further in the development of the resources of the country. Valuable as these works are, their present condition is far from satisfactory. Partly from the want of water and partly from the silting up of certain parts, they are seldom available for any great amount of traffic more than eight months in the year; and often during that period cargoes have to be frequently transhipped on account of shallows, which cannot be passed over. Such produce as jaffery, chillies, onions, tobacco, yams, fruit, vegetables, &c., is often damaged by being thus transhipped, and passing through many hands is much pilfered. In some instances, where long delay occurs, perishable produce is entirely spoiled. The expenses of transhipment and the losses sustained in quantity and quality have thus to be added to the cost of freight. It is a common occurrence for ships to be detained at Cocanada a considerable time waiting for cargo actually in boats a few miles up the canals, which are either closed for repairs or impassable through silting up. The main canals are occasionally closed for repairs four, six, or eight weeks at a time. With ordinary dredging these canals need not be closed. What would be said in this country if a railway was closed for six weeks at a time for ordinary repairs, when, with proper attention, it need not be closed? This mode of communication, with all its defects, has nevertheless given a great impetus to trade; and the quantity of produce carried by canals through the delta is, I believe, about 150,000 tons per annum, besides immense quantities of timber and bamboo rafts. Its occasional stoppage, therefore, most injuriously affects the prosperity of the district. Trade becomes stagnated, the value of produce is immediately lessened in the interior, while at centres of consumption the prices are unusually raised from want of supply. Salt, for instance, which is entirely dependent upon water carriage, is sometimes double its usual price. Such circumstances operate to prevent the investment of capital in the trade of the district, which, notwithstanding many disadvantages, has rapidly grown, and with steady and cheap modes of communications would soon be greatly extended.

*Canal Boats.*—A large amount of capital is already invested in canal-boat property. From 1500 to 2000 boats are in working, ranging in value from 20*l.* to 70*l.* each. The supply, however, is unequal to the requirements, and boat-hire still continues high; the present rates being from two-thirds of a penny to one penny per ton per mile. Loose cotton brought from Bezwarah to Cocanada, a distance of 135 miles, is charged double this rate. As a matter for consideration, it may be mentioned, that there is no security for cargoes delivered to boatmen, as they are under no legal obligation to sign bills of lading. The native cargo boats draw too much water, and are capable of great improvement.

*Passenger Traffic.*—Passenger traffic in the canals is very great. On the main lines, namely, Cocanada, Coringa, Narsapore, Ellore, Samulcoitah, and Nagurum, there are about forty boats licensed to carry from thirty to eighty passengers each, plying daily; one half working up and the other down. Although towed at heavy expense by coolies they pay well. The fare is one pie per mile (one-eighth of a penny). The average speed is about two miles and a half per hour. Canal steam-boats, with a speed of twelve to fifteen miles, ought to be advantageously worked for passenger

traffic, as, with such facility, the already large passenger traffic would be greatly extended. Allowing an average of twenty passengers per boat, the present traffic represents over a quarter of a million per annum. These boats afford great advantages to petty dealers, as they are enabled to go into the interior of the district, purchase produce in small quantities, and return with it immediately; while others attend markets with their wares twenty or thirty miles from their homes. A rough estimate for working a pair of passenger boats between Rajahmundry and Narsapore, a distance of forty-five miles, is given at the end of this paper.

*Water-Power.*—There is a large quantity of water-power now wasted in the district, which might be turned to valuable account in cotton spinning and weaving, the manufacture of jute-sacking, rice cleaning, timber sawing, and the working of other machinery. The drawback to attempts at thus utilizing this power is the uncertainty of the supply of water during the hot season. The economy of this motive-power is so great that it forms another strong reason for a constant supply of water in the canals.

*Engineering Department.*—Before closing these remarks on the public works, it will be right to make some reference to the Engineering Department. Formerly each district had its own engineer, who superintended the executive engineers of the several "Ranges" into which the districts are subdivided. These officers, by constant inspection, necessarily acquired an intimate knowledge of the state of the works, and the requirements of the country. The comparatively narrow limits of their districts facilitated their acquisition of this knowledge, and likewise tended to deepen their sense of responsibility for the efficiency of the works. The abolition of this office is, therefore, much to be regretted, and the more so because it often happens in the frequent changes which occur among the executives that men are appointed who are totally unacquainted with the district and the works, and to whom the direction of the District Engineer would be invaluable. The Ranges, too, of the executive officers are in many cases so extensive as to render a thorough discharge of their duties impossible. They have, therefore, to leave many matters to their subordinates, without being able to exercise over them that amount of supervision which the interests of the service and the country demand. Much waste and loss necessarily result. Some curious illustrations might be given. In one case the sill of a lock was found when finished to be a foot too high! The floor of an irrigation sluice was placed three feet too high, and to remedy this the foundation was removed, and a new floor laid three feet lower down. Another irrigation sluice in a main canal was built nearly as deep as the bed of the canal, and almost large enough to draft off all the water flowing into that reach. It need hardly be added, the flows of the other sluices in the same reach were generally dry.

Evils greater than these, and more immediately affecting the ryot, result from the inability of the Executive Engineers to effectually superintend the distribution of water, especially during the dry season. The demand for water is most urgent, and great excitement prevails. The ryots do not care what they give to save their crops and seed beds at such times, with the ever-ready reply—"Dry season; no water in the river" to fall back upon, it is not surprising that the subordinates, in whose hands much of the management at this season is unavoidably left, should do just as they please. It is not an uncommon thing for an engineer's office to be besieged by from fifty to one hundred ryots all eager to make known their grievances, and implore a supply of water for their dying crops. Acres of land sown with paddy seed are annually destroyed. The engineer, often powerless to help them, either through want of water or inadequate means of distribution, and not knowing how to answer their importunities, leave them to be pacified by their subordinates. It is not unusual, under these circumstances, for the orders of the engineers to be disregarded. Not long since, and only two miles from the residence of an engineer, an obstruction was placed across a main canal. Fortunately his suspicions were awakened, and he discovered it the same night. Such things cannot be done with impunity without the connivance of the subordinates. In 1866 a ryot, not on good terms with the canal superintendent, breached the banks of an irrigation canal, and, placing an obstruction across it, irrigated his fields. He was summoned before a magistrate, and fined 140 rupees, a penalty which he deemed trifling compared with the profit he would derive. Few would be bold enough to attempt such a course without collusion with the subordinates.

The Executive officers of the Engineering Department would, if speaking candidly,

acknowledge the existence of these evils, and confess their inability, under present arrangements, to effectually put a stop to them.

*General, Commercial, and Agricultural Condition and Prospects of the Godavery District.*—It has a population of about a million, found in several large towns and villages. The surface is generally flat, and in some parts contains rich soil, favourable, with irrigation, for the growth of valuable produce and the cultivation of cocoa-nut and other fruit-bearing trees. The whole district is noted for its weaving, by which it carries on considerable trade with Madras, Bellary, Hyderabad, Bangalore, and other distant cities. A considerable quantity of English yarn is consumed in the manufacture of piece goods. The Dutch once carried on a large trade in cotton goods, woven in this district,—the remains of other factories, bleaching and dyeing works still exist. If to these facts it be added that the cotton manufactures of the district are famed through the south of India possessing a fair quality of cotton, and that the people from their present employment could be easily taught to work machinery, it will be seen that it presents a fine field for the establishment of cotton-spinning and weaving factories. It may be here mentioned that the machinery for a cotton-spinning mill is now on its way to be set up in the district.

*Chief Towns.*—Among the chief towns are Rajahmundry, Dowlaish-warum, Coringa, Narsapore, Palcole, Ellore, Samulcottob, Amlapore, Mundapett, Peddapore, Pitapore, Jugempett, Thalapoodee, Polavaruna, Azurum. A brief description of these towns is given at the end of this paper. But the town and port demanding particular notice as that with which the present and future prosperity of the district is most intimately connected is *Cocanada*. This place, formerly a small fishing village, has rapidly increased and improved during the last few years. The opening of several English and French houses of business—the establishment of a branch of the Madras Bank—the erection of cotton screws—the building of substantial warehouses—the number of boats loading and unloading at the wharfs—the ships visiting the port, together with the general activity prevailing in the town are signs of its rising importance. The causes of this may be traced to several facts.

1st. *The safety of the Roadstead*, which is the best on the Coromandel coast for ships to lie in, and is the only one at which covered barges of eight to forty tons are used for landing and shipping cargo, thus preventing injury to cargo from exposure in open Masula boats, as at Madras and elsewhere.

2nd. *The Improvement of the Mouth of the River by the throwing out of a pair of Groynes into the Sea.*—By this means, together with dredging, a greater depth is secured and the bar kept open. There is still room for further improvement of the roadstead.

3rd. *The low Scale of its Shipping Charges.*—For this reason, I believe, it was chosen as a coaling depôt for the coasting line of steamers.

4th. *The Connection of the Port by means of Navigable Canals with the Interior of its own District, the lower parts of the Hyderabad Territory, and with the whole of the Kishra District.*—Produce, which otherwise could not be conveyed, now finds its way in large quantities by means of this cheap mode of transit; and to this cause, in great measure, must be attributed the enormous increase of exports, which averaged in the years 1865 and 1866, 800,000*l.*, against only 57,000*l.* previous to the construction of the works. One fact worthy of notice is, that from this port cotton-seed, which is worth only 3*s.* per ton, is exported. This is entirely owing to the cheapness of water-carriage down to the coast. The steamers regularly calling at the port have helped to develop the coasting-trade, which, though in its infancy, is so great, that, notwithstanding their high rates of freight, they are constantly shutting out large quantities of cargo.

This port will necessarily be the outlet for all the produce which will be brought down from that vast extent of country, containing a population of about twenty millions, which is now being opened up by the Godavery Navigation Works now in course of construction. This fact of itself is sufficient to raise it in importance, apart from any other consideration.

*General Remarks and Suggestions.*—Some general remarks and practical suggestions, grounded upon an intimate acquaintance with the country and people, may fitly close this brief paper.

*Management of Works.*—The failing in the Godavery works has been in constructing main lines, and neglecting the smaller works which are essential to the effectual distribution of the water, and without which that which could be turned to valuable uses is now wasted. The importance of a complete network of irrigation canals cannot be

too strongly urged. All such works, when once commenced, should be prosecuted with vigour and finished as soon as possible, as, until they are completed, the districts must of necessity be in an unsettled and unsatisfactory condition. In effecting this no expense or efforts should be spared.

The works once constructed should be maintained in efficient condition. There will be great difficulties in keeping the canals and water-courses clear of silt and weeds; but the chief point is to prevent these obstructions gaining the mastery at the commencement. However trivial this may appear, actual facts prove it to be a matter of first importance, and one to which all who have to do with such works, whether Government or private companies, will find it necessary to give particular attention.

*Obligations and Responsibilities of Irrigation Works Proprietors and their Officers.*—It is certainly both just and necessary that there should be a clear understanding as to the obligations proprietors of irrigation works have to fulfil to entitle them to remuneration for water supplied, and also as to the responsibility they incur by damage resulting from their non-fulfilment of contract. When a ryot, having agreed to take water, brings his land under wet cultivation, he soon renders it unfit for other crops. If therefore the supply should fail in quantity, or not be distributed at the proper season, he cannot cultivate. In this case there should be not merely remission of his water assessment, but compensation for the loss he sustains. If the proprietors, whether Government or others, participate in the profit, they should also be made liable for losses resulting from their neglect or mismanagement. Even as things are, Government would do well, both for their own interest and those of the ryot, to make their officers entrusted with the water responsible for its proper distribution, requiring them to render an account of every cubic yard passing through the sluices under their charge. Every such yard represents a money value, as every acre of irrigated lands yields a revenue of 8s. and a crop of 1250 lbs. paddy; so that every wasted 6000 cubic yards of water represent this loss. At present, in the Godavery district, this responsibility does not appear to be felt, and there can be no doubt that from this cause much waste occurs.

*Profit of Proprietors.*—It may be fairly questioned whether it is either just or politic for Government to demand such high returns upon their capital as those obtained in the Godavery district, which is now yielding an annual income of 50 per cent., or a quarter of a million, upon an original outlay of about double that sum. But if such exorbitant profits are obtained, should not a sufficient portion at least be employed in increasing the efficiency of the works and promoting the general prosperity of the district, so that the country, as well as the Government, should have a share in the large pecuniary results? It should also be considered to what extent of profit a private company undertaking such works is entitled, and what, in the event of the returns exceeding a certain percentage, should be done with the overplus. Upon the right settlement of these questions, not only the interests of the ryot and the welfare of the country, but also the ultimate success of the works will depend.

*Agricultural Inspectors.*—There is a great necessity for the obtaining of reliable information as to the agricultural condition of the country, as the actual facts cannot be gathered from the revenue or engineer departments. The appointment of inspectors might here be suggested—whose duties would be to report annually upon the condition of their respective districts and the state of the works, and also, as occasion may arise, to furnish the revenue authorities with such information as may enable them to equitably settle disputes with the ryots. The collection of correct returns of land under cultivation, the seasons of the year when cultivated, the description of the produce, returns of disease amongst cattle, percentage of deaths, &c., are all points upon which information should be gathered, and these duties might be deputed to these inspectors. The principle of Government inspection is already acknowledged by the appointment of jail and school inspectors.

*Improvement of Agriculture.*—There is much room for improvement in the cultivation generally. The limited knowledge of the ryots might be beneficially extended. The care of cattle, the cultivation of green fodder, the making of manures, the chemical and mechanical changes effected on the soil by different modes of treatment, are matters of which they know but little. Even in the cultivation of paddy, which must continue to be the staple product wherever irrigation works are introduced in India, there is need of information as to the peculiarities of the several varieties. Experience proves that certain kinds bear a greater depth of water than others, and that some are suited for light and sandy soils only. The season of the year materially affects the yield of some varieties; others die when planted during the prevalence of east wind;

and some descriptions are affected by disease when exposed to the influence of other prevailing winds. Correct knowledge on these points, and the introduction of varieties from other parts, might, with available irrigation, enable the cultivator to grow a succession of crops. The labour which is now performed with great difficulty in the cultivation of the monsoon crop would be thus distributed over the year. It has been proved the successful cultivation of chillies is dependent upon certain chemical properties of the water with which they are irrigated; but to turn this fact to practical account the ryot must possess sufficient chemical knowledge to enable him by the use of certain manures to supply the soil with the necessary salts deficient in the fresh water of the canal. The extended cultivation of garden produce will in great measure depend upon the ryot's increased acquaintance with the properties and uses of substances which might be converted into valuable manures.

*Agricultural Implements and Machinery.*—The native implements and machinery are of the most primitive description, and are rapidly becoming less and less adapted to the changed condition of the soil. The cattle, which at the best are of an inferior kind, have of late years been much subject to fatal disease. Labour, too, is becoming scarcer and more expensive—the wages of the farm-labourer have risen from 1½d. to 8d. or 4d. per day.

These facts necessitate improvements in modes of culture and general farm operations, which can only be effected by the introduction of a better class of appliances. Among those most needed are steam-ploughs, for which the *Delta* is well adapted, being level and free from earth fast-stones; machinery for raising water, and also for thrashing, rice-cleaning, oil-pressing, and sugar-cane pressing. The jaggery manufacture calls for special notice as needing vast improvement both in the expression and concentration of the juice. The native mill is a most inefficient instrument, being not only a slow process, but leaving from 10 to 15 per cent. of the saccharine matter unexpressed, in addition to which a large percentage of saccharine is destroyed in the manufacture by excess of heat. Fryer's Concretor seems admirably adapted to remedy this latter evil, and its use would greatly improve the manufacture. With the introduction of improved appliances, the cultivation of the sugar-cane would soon be greatly extended.

*Model Farms.*—As one means of obtaining these desirable results, the establishment of model farms, under the management of competent practical men would, doubtless, be the best means which Government could employ, and is one which they should bring into operation without delay. Intelligent ryots would gladly avail themselves of the instruction which they might there obtain in the management of cattle, the use of implements, the making of manures, the nature of crops, and the properties of soils, and would soon be found diligently carrying their newly-acquired knowledge into practical effect. There can be no question that the cultivation of the district would speedily be improved, and the agricultural population consequently raised from their present low position.

*Cattle.*—The prevalence of disease among cattle being a source of ruinous loss to the ryot, leads to a further suggestion, that Government should appoint some well-qualified party to thoroughly investigate its cause, and if possible advise measures for its check and prevention. In connection too with this, something might be done to improve the present inferior breeds.

*Improvement of Mechanical Trades, &c.*—In a country like India, possessing unlimited resources still undeveloped, it is the duty of Government to set the example both of improving the existing branches of industry and also of developing fresh ones. The brick and tile manufacture, for instance, is notoriously bad; and being one in which Government, as large consumers for public works, are greatly interested, they should adopt some practical measures for its improvement. In connection with this it should be stated that artisan labour is much required, and that what little there is commands very high rates. There are numbers of young men of inferior castes who would gladly learn handicraft trades, but the caste tradesmen jealously refuse them instruction, and they have no other means of obtaining.

*Industrial Schools.*—This state of things can be effectually met only by the establishment of Industrial Schools by Government, where useful trades could be taught. The advantages to the country would be incalculable; and the subject demands immediate and earnest attention, as part of those educational measures which are now acknowledged to be necessary for the benefit and elevation of the masses of the people. The expenses of such institutions would be chiefly confined to the cost of



their establishment; as, once in working, they would, under efficient management, become not merely self-supporting but remunerative. A trial of this suggestion could be easily made by setting up a school on a small scale at one of the locks, where water-power for the working of machinery could be made available. The utilization of the now wasted water-power would also be illustrated by this experiment. The result would doubtless be a wide adoption of these plans.

*Improvement of Canal-boats.*—The facilities for navigation would be greatly increased by the improvement of the boats required for goods and passenger traffic; and when it is considered that there are now nearly 400 miles of navigable canals, besides the upper river, this will appear a matter worthy of attention. The want of improvement in this direction has been so felt, that Major Haig, the officer in charge of the Upper Godavery Works, has proposed to Government the building of a superior class of iron boats to be hired out to the natives.

*Upper Godavery Works.*—The completion of the Upper Godavery Works, extending about 450 miles into the interior, will open communication with districts populated by upwards of 20,000 millions, hitherto almost entirely shut out from intercourse with the coast and foreign markets. Judging from the results which have followed the opening of the Delta Works, there is every reason to expect an immense amount of traffic through this district when means of communication are once established. Competent authorities calculate that 90,000 tons of salt alone will be forwarded from the coast up the river; besides which a great traffic in fuel, cotton from Hingergahut district, and produce of various other kinds will be brought down. Coal of good quality has been found on the River Nurdah, and will be conveyed in large quantities to Cocanada, where there is already a demand. Some 6000 to 7000 tons are now annually imported, at a cost of at least 2l. per ton, for the coaling of one line of steamers. In anticipation of this large traffic, the works are being constructed for the employment of a superior class of boats and steamers.

The works at the first barrier are, I believe, completed, and communication is open for nearly 220 miles from the sea, and a considerable traffic is already established.

*Future Prosperity of Cocanada.*—The connection of these facts with the future prosperity of Cocanada will be easily apparent. There can be no doubt that its export trade, now large, will be immensely increased by the opening of communication with these districts and population. Nor can it be doubted that, such wide markets being thus rendered easily accessible for British manufacturers, its import trade from England will be greatly increased. It is most important that this trade should be carried on direct. At present most British goods are obtained either from Calcutta or Madras, chiefly by coasting steamers. The freight from Calcutta is 4l. per ton, and from Madras 2l. This high rate of freight alone, apart from extra profits and other charges, is sufficient to prevent the consumption of many articles which with direct trade could be profitably imported. Government might do much to assist in the formation of this trade by forwarding all the stores required for the public works of the district to Cocanada, in doing which they would be immense gainers themselves, as well as encouraging direct shipments from this country.

*Appointment of a Government Commission.*—In conclusion, the appointment of a Royal Commission for the thorough investigation of the state of public works in India might be suggested. Such a Commission would obtain facts of great importance, which otherwise cannot be known, would see the need of many alterations and improvements in the present state of things, and would be competent to recommend many measures which tend to the stability of Government and the welfare of that vast country over which they exercise rule, and for the moral and material prosperity of which they are so largely responsible.

The CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Bowden, I think, is in India now?

Captain NOTT.—He is.

The CHAIRMAN.—As the meeting has heard, there is in the paper which we have had read to us a vast amount of matter of very considerable importance, which, however, admits of discussion, and it might give rise to the expression of opinions hostile to those advanced by the author. There can be no doubt that he has acquired much information upon the subject, and that his local knowledge is large. We have, happily, with us upon this occasion an officer to whom I think the districts mentioned in the paper owe very much indeed, if not all of the prosperity which they are now en-

joying, and which will most likely increase in the future—I mean Sir Arthur Cotton who, I hope, will favour us with some observations upon the subject before us. We have also with us an ex-collector in India, who has distinguished himself not only in that department, but as a Member of Parliament—Mr. Smollett, lately Member for Dumbartonshire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SMOLLETT then addressed the meeting. He said:—I attended here to-day because I knew that a discussion was to take place after the reading of a paper upon the "Navigation and Irrigation Works in the Godavery District;" and as I have been some years at home, I wished to learn what was the exact profit arising from these works. No doubt many observations in that paper are worthy of much attention; but I must say that I have derived no great information as to the value of those works. I think the paper states that 500,000*l.* has been expended upon the works as the cost—I suppose up to a certain date—and that the profits arising from them are 50 per cent. That would give us 250,000*l.* a-year, arising from the expenditure of 500,000*l.*

The CHAIRMAN.—It says about 50 per cent. by the water assessment.

Mr. SMOLLETT.—Yes; but I believe that the returns of revenue which are thus given are utterly fallacious, because they are the differences of the receipts in the Godavery district now from what they were some twenty-five years ago, before these works were made. Nothing can be more deceptive than this mode of argument; for we all know that the irrigation works were made forty miles above the mouth of the river Godavery, and a few miles below the town of Rajahmundry; therefore only a small portion of the Godavery district is really watered by those irrigation works. The portion of the district above the works cannot be watered, because water, I believe, does not run up-hill; three-fourths of the extent of the Godavery district is not irrigated, and three-fourths of the revenue, I think, which the Government derives from that district arises from agricultural pursuits, quite irrespective of irrigation, and which ought and must be realized if the irrigation were altogether destroyed. You understand that?

The CHAIRMAN.—Thoroughly.

Mr. SMOLLETT.—In the year 1805 what is called the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, was introduced into the Rajahmundry (now called the Godavery) district. That Settlement created landed estates, as in England, subjected only to a very heavy taxation.

The CHAIRMAN.—A peshcush?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—Yes; that is a taxation. By this peshcush two-thirds of the gross value of the lands were annually payable to Government; and the remaining third was the profit to the Zemindar, to enable him to carry on the management and get a livelihood. To enable a settlement of that nature to be introduced, you must value the whole of the lands in the district; and they were valued in 1804 and 1805. Land revenue must be kept quite distinct from that derived from salt and such things. The land revenues were valued at 250,000*l.* a-year; the Zemindars were permitted to draw 60,000*l.* a-year for their profits; and nineteen lacs, or 190,000*l.* a-year, was the Government land revenue for that district under the Permanent Settlement, established sixty-three years ago.

The CHAIRMAN.—Embracing what area?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—The Godavery district.

Mr. BRIGGS.—What was the population?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—The population is loosely taken, but it is supposed to be about 800,000 or 1,000,000 at the present time. Through mismanagement, through gross corruption, and through many other causes, the landlords have gradually declined in prosperity. A great many of their estates were bought up by Government. Many of them fell into the hands of ladies; and the corruption of the native population, as regards these poor women, was winked at until they got largely into arrear, and then the estates were sold.

Mr. BRIGGS.—The zemindary estates?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—Yes. By that means the Government acquired nearly the whole of the landed property in that district again; and they became, in consequence, almost the sole proprietors of the district. They thus acquired the property of the Zemindars, and therefore the land revenue ought to have been 250,000*l.* a-year, without any extra expenses of irrigation; and in my opinion the Government ought to have been able under decent management (the fact is, there has been terrible mismanagement) to



have collected 250,000*l.* a-year—from 1850 to 1857, when I left India—with the greatest possible ease. In my opinion, they might have collected 300,000*l.* a-year, because the district had greatly improved—I mean that India (not that district) has greatly improved in resources, from causes which I shall afterwards describe. Government did lay out immense sums of money from 1846 to 1856, when I was there. I imagine that they spent 300,000*l.* or 350,000*l.* of money, irrespective of interest. The expenses of management in 1856, I remember, were 17,000*l.* a-year for irrigation, irrespective of works upon the canals. But to keep these canals in order, the expense could not have been less than 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* more; in all, 22,000*l.* or 23,000*l.*, as the cost of these works a-year. The Godavery district, sixty years previously, had been valued at 250,000*l.* a-year; and we will see what they collected in the years 1854, 1855, 1856, and 1857. When I was in India I visited the Godavery district, and saw and had the returns in my own house.

Colonel FRENCH.—Could you go back to earlier dates?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—Yes. For a great many years, from 1836–37 to 1840 the Zemindars paid punctually; but when the Government, in 1846, had acquired all their estates, they went into all these works of irrigation, and they ought to have collected at least 250,000*l.*; but after the works were finished, 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* having been laid out up to 1856.

The CHAIRMAN.—The works are not finished yet?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—No, of course not, because you may go on making canals to the world's end. They were extended to 250 villages or farms, and in no single year did they collect more than 200,000*l.* from the land, irrespective of salt. After having spent 350,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* in irrigation, they only obtained 200,000*l.* a-year from land up to 1857, I repeat, when I left India. The salt revenues had greatly increased, and they are now very much larger than they used to be; but the revenues from salt are not made from fresh water.

The CHAIRMAN.—They have nothing to do with the irrigation question.

Mr. SMOLLETT.—They have nothing to do with the irrigation question. Now I wish really to know what is the money that the Government have got from those works. That is not to be ascertained by lumping together the whole revenues of a district as large as Yorkshire, or by taking the lands above the water-works, and not below them. The question is, how much the land was valued at below the irrigation works formerly, and how much it yields now?

The CHAIRMAN.—How much, in fact, has been got by the irrigation of the districts?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—Yes. I tried to get that when I was out in India. I got accounts, made up to 1854, from the collector of the Godavery district. I found that from 250 villages the increased collections were only Rs. 3000, or 300*l.* more than the lands had yielded for some years before the irrigation had been applied. Therefore, up to that time, 1854–55, while the revenue authorities and the engineering department had been giving out that by the irrigation 90,000*l.* a-year had then been acquired, not one single sixpence had been acquired to satisfy the interest upon 300,000*l.*; and the expenses of management were at least, in my opinion, 40,000*l.* a-year; against which there was to set from these villages 300*l.* a-year more than when the irrigation had not been applied to them. At that time this water assessment had not been applied. It was impossible that profits could have been got from these works. But General Balfour, Mr. Bourdillon, and other commissioners, had assured the Government that in 1852–53–54, these irrigation works yielded to the Government 90,000*l.* a-year. I do not mean to say that irrigation is not a most excellent thing; but the advantage of it depends upon whether it is done economically and judiciously; and whether, after it has been given to the people, it is properly managed. In my opinion, in the Godavery district, up to the time I left India, and from what I have since learned, the revenue management is most disgraceful.

The CHAIRMAN.—Now, Sir Arthur Cotton, as the attack has been made upon you, you will no doubt wish to say something in reply.

Mr. BRIGGS.—I do not understand that an attack has been made upon Sir Arthur Cotton.

The CHAIRMAN.—It has always been made out and stated everywhere that there is much profit upon this land irrigated by Sir Arthur Cotton's works. I understand Mr. Smollett's argument to be that there has not been the profit from the irrigation works which has been stated to accrue.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—The discussion is upon Mr. Bowden's paper; therefore I shall take the liberty of speaking to that subject.

The CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Bowden's idea is, that large profit has arisen.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Yes. Mr. Smollett's views are so well known and understood that I need not answer them. The great defect in the Government of India is, that there is nobody to represent the ryot in the Government. He is never heard. (Hear, hear.) If there is anything done to affect the European officials, there is plenty heard about it. If anything touches the commercial community, there is an immense discussion. If anything touches the great Zemindars, there is abundance of investigation. But there is nobody to speak a word about anything which injures a poor individual who belongs to the ryots. (Cheers.) I may mention a curious proof of this. We have had four financiers in India, every one of whom has raised the salt-tax. ("Shame.") The reason is simply this: every one would have been up in arms if anything had been done to affect injuriously other portions of the community; but that measure only affected the mass of the poor people, so that those who increased the taxation felt themselves safe. They knew that the poor people had no defenders; and therefore they acted on the well-known maxim, "Hit him; he has no friends." Now the value of the paper which we have heard read seems to me to be this: Here is a man who comes forward, and with the voice, the decision, and unflinching character of a European, speaks as a ryot. He was for twelve years a ryot in the district, and therefore speaks as one who knows the feelings of a ryot. It is therefore of the utmost importance that such a man should be heard. One of the great defects in India at this moment is, that there are no European ryots, properly speaking, who will make themselves heard about the state of the people. (Cheers.) In the main, that paper is perfectly correct in the principles and facts which it lays down, I have no doubt. It may be that in many respects the author gives the worst side of the case, but in the main he is quite right; and as to several of the points touched upon, I have the most positive information from totally distinct sources confirming the correctness of the writer's statements, particularly as to the astonishing fact that they actually do not keep the works in repair. The way they act is this: they give out a million of money, we will say, to public works, and divide that sum amongst the Presidencies. Of that, say 100,000*l.* goes to Madras, and the Governor of the Madras Presidency does the best he can with its distribution, dividing it among the districts. It ends in his sending 10,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* to the Godavery district, whereas it requires from 25,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* to keep the works in repair. They do not first ask the Governor of the Madras Presidency what amount he needs to keep the works in repair, and allow him to apportion the amounts accordingly. They know nothing and care nothing about that; but they give him the sum just as I have mentioned. I represented this matter to Lord Mayo, and I trust he will direct his attention to it. As to completing the works, they have lingered on ever since Lord Harris was Governor there, and very little has been done to them. What the writer of the paper says is perfectly true, that a large portion of the irrigated districts are at this moment so miserably imperfect as to works, and so negligently managed, as in a great measure to neutralize the benefit of the works.

Mr. SMOLLETT.—But the profits are put down at 250,000*l.* a-year.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I will come to that. One of the principal points I wished to speak to on this subject was this: We see from the whole of this paper the extreme importance of private enterprise in such matters as irrigation. If there had been a company the owners of those works these things could not have taken place, because the Government officers themselves would have been heartily willing and ready to listen to complaints made, and they would have had to judge between the ryot and those who sold the water; but the Government being the water-merchants, the ryot can only complain to the person who oppresses him.

Mr. BRIGGS.—There is the secret.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—One of the grounds taken up by Sir John Lawrence, and others like-minded, respecting the private enterprise, is that it would be shocking to leave the poor ryot to the mercies of a private speculator; whereas, if he receive the water from the Government, he is safe. Now the fact is exactly the opposite of that. Over and over again I have thought that if these works belonged to an individual I could get justice done to the ryots; but as it is there is no appeal. The injured ryot goes to the collector and complains that he has been unfairly dealt with. Of course he has no remedy, because the collector is one of his oppressors. I think, therefore, that it is

extremely important that these works should be carried on by private companies. (Cheers.)

Mr. SMOLLETT.—Under a Government guarantee I suppose? I do not believe anybody would undertake the work as a gift.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I will confine my remarks to Mr. Bowden's paper. The complaints which he makes about closing the canals, for instance, are perfectly just. There is not a shadow of a reason for closing those canals, except on very rare occasions indeed. Probably, with good management, they would hardly ever be closed; at all events, the great lines of canal ought never so to be closed as that another line could not be left open. If the works were completed, and it were necessary to shut up a portion of a canal, there would always be arrangements available for going round by another route; but now they shut up a canal which is a main artery for six or eight weeks, when otherwise it would be perfectly unnecessary, and so they paralyse the district. There are several suggestions in that paper which I consider extremely valuable. One is that there should be an inspector of agriculture—that there should be a man perfectly independent of the collector, of the engineer, of the Zemindars, and of the ryots themselves, who should come in and see the whole state of things, and report upon them. This principle is acknowledged, as he says. The Government are having inspectors of all the departments, and it is at least as important that there should be inspectors of agriculture—inspectors of agricultural districts. Now I will just speak of the progress of the district itself, taken altogether. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the revenue has increased, compared with the average revenue before the works began, which was 220,000*l.* a-year, by 250,000*l.* per annum. \*

Mr. SMOLLETT.—From all sources?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—From all sources.

The CHAIRMAN.—Do you mean including freightage?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—The whole revenue of the district before the works were begun.

Mr. BRIGGS.—Including salt?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Yes: the average of the revenue of the district for the last two years (I have not got it separately for the last year) was 480,000*l.*

Mr. BRIGGS.—Then they have not kept the revenue received from the irrigation works distinct?

Mr. SMOLLETT.—Yes; they are kept distinct, but they are always blended in these statements. I know one district in which I managed the estate of the Rajah of Vizianagram; the land was valued at 70,000*l.* a-year in 1804. I managed it myself, and collected 130,000*l.* a-year from it.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—The total increase of revenue, therefore, at the present time, upon the old revenue of the district, is 120 per cent. The question is, How far is this increase to be attributed to the public works?

The CHAIRMAN.—That really is the question.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Well, then, what test are we to bring to show that this is the effect directly or indirectly of the works? What better test can we have than by comparing this district with the surrounding districts, and see what the comparative progress has been? It is 17 per cent. in the surrounding districts as against 120 per cent. in this. Let me ask, Why has this one district increased 120 per cent.? If any gentleman wishes to investigate the matter and have a hard nut to crack, let him sit down and crack that. (Hear, hear.) Then there is another fact to be considered. The water-rate levied is four rupees per acre; and it is stated that there are now 800,000 acres irrigated. Therefore if the whole of that was new irrigation (some of it was partially irrigated before), there would be an increase of 320,000*l.* in water-rate. There is not so much in reality, because part of the land was irrigated formerly, and the whole rates are not levied; but there at once we can account for an increase of 250,000*l.* a-year from the actual water-rate paid.

The CHAIRMAN.—That is within the irrigated area?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Yes. There has been some increase of the extra revenue. Now I ask, can a district have an increase of annual income of probably a million or a million-and-a-half a-year (I forget exactly what the amount is), without all the extra resources of revenue being affected? For instance, the actual consumption of salt within the district has greatly increased, besides what is sold otherwise. The whole collection for salt is a very moderate sum; but it has increased, because before the works the people were so poor that they could not afford to buy salt enough for their families; now they can; and that is a *bonâ fide* effect of the execution of the works.

Mr. BRIGGS.—Has any increase taken place in the population?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—I was going to mention that. There has been considerable increase in the population. Now let us judge of the progress of the district by the exports. The average exports, before the works were begun, amounted to the sum of 57,000*l.*; the year before last they were 900,000*l.* In the first ten months of the current year the four principal items alone were 500,000*l.*, so I have heard. Comparing that with the former exports of those things, the exports of this year will be considerably above 1,000,000*l.*—perhaps a million-and-a-quarter—against 57,000*l.* before the works.

The CHAIRMAN.—These are from official returns, I suppose?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—These are all official returns. I had a letter only two or three days ago from the district, in which my correspondent says: "Every year raises the value of the works in everyone's opinion, and the people are undoubtedly prospering, and more than ever anxious for the benefits of irrigation." He also says: "There is now a fresh attempt made to put things into better order, to repair the works that are out of order, and to complete the drainage;" so that I hope something is really being done now towards the correction of these abuses. I forwarded a paper by this same gentleman to the India Office, with a letter from myself and my remarks upon it, pressing this matter upon the Government, and urging them to take measures now to see that real justice is done to this district; that after spending 500,000*l.* upon it, that district is not trifled with; that a really able and effective collector of the district is appointed, which is of extreme importance; and that there should be an officer placed in sole charge of the works; for, inconceivable as it may be, there is not at this moment an officer in sole charge of those immensely-important works upon which a revenue of 500,000*l.* a-year and exports amounting to more than 1,000,000*l.* are depending. It is made part of the charge of an officer who has other districts to look after. With respect to what the gentleman who spoke before me has said, I will only observe that it is a strange fancy that he has. I cannot imagine what it is that has affected him in this way, so as to induce him to say there was not an increase of 300*l.* in the district, and so forth. There are the revenue returns, which every one can see.

Mr. SMOLLETT.—They are all falsified.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—There is the report of the Government and every one concerned with it. There is no more question about the immense progress of the district than there is about the site of St. Paul's. Formerly the district stood thirteenth in point of revenue among the districts of Madras, and now it is the second in all India. Tanjore is the first, because it has been irrigated for fifty years.

The CHAIRMAN.—Do you take them area for area?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—Yes. The revenue of the district now is a little under half-a-million a-year. The average revenue of the districts of India generally is a little more than a quarter-of-a-million.

The CHAIRMAN.—That will be of no service for purposes of comparison unless we take the areas.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—It is about an average district in point of size. Tanjore, Masulipatam, or Kistna, as it is now called, and Godavery, are the three irrigated districts. They average upwards of half-a-million a-year, and all the others average a little more than a quarter-of-a-million. That is the difference between irrigated districts and non-irrigated districts; and if we were to talk for a week we could not get rid of a simple fact like that. Now I will say a few words about the navigation. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the canal navigation. It is that, in fact, which has given real consistency and life to the district. It is the means of conveying their produce, wherever they want it taken, in a very short time and at a nominal price (for really it is nominal), and it is that which gives such importance to the whole thing. Of course there will always be mud deposited in the canals. That cannot be prevented; but they can always be kept tolerably clear by means of steam dredges working in them all the year round; and it can only be in consequence of some rare accident or unusual contingency that any necessity can arise to shut the canals. (Hear, hear.) This Godavery question is a most vital one. It is of the utmost importance in connection with the irrigation of ~~the~~ India, and it is extremely important that it should be thoroughly investigated and discussed, and that we should have the plain figures set before us of the progress of the district, because I think there is not the least mistake about it. (Cheers.)

Colonel FRENCH.—Supposing a ryot has prepared his lands for irrigation, and the

Government officers do not supply him with water, I should like to know whether he has any redress?

Sir ARTHUR COTTON.—He has no remedy.

Colonel FRENCH.—Could he not bring a suit in one of the courts of the country?

Captain NOTT.—No ryot is in the position to afford it.

Mr. SMOLLETT.—I never distrained upon a ryot's property. It is said to be done in hundreds and thousands of cases. The revenue management of that district is as bad as possible; but really, if those canals and channels of communication give 250,000*l.* a-year profit, that is an immense success. From the tenor of that paper which has been read to us, you would think that the management is so bad that nothing is got from it; but if 250,000*l.* a-year is got from it, it is a most magnificent success. But I utterly disbelieve it, and I cannot get an account to show what is the revenue realized from the irrigated land apart from the dry land—comparing what it is now with what it was before. I also utterly repudiate the argument of General Cotton, that the neighbouring districts have only advanced 17½, whilst this has advanced 150 per cent. I was in the adjoining district, as collector, magistrate, and governor's agent. I managed the revenues, and the judicial department as well. That district is permanently settled, and that is the reason why only 17½ per cent. appears in the Government books as additional profit now above what it was at the time of the Permanent Settlement. But the lands are double and treble the value of what they were in 1804, when the Permanent Settlement commenced.

Colonel FRENCH.—I thought that Mr. Smollett, having been in that country as a collector and a Government agent, would have replied to my query which, of course, I put through the chair.

Mr. SMOLLETT.—You asked whether a ryot could bring an action or not. I believe he might, but the chances are that he would not succeed.

Colonel FRENCH.—That is favourable to Sir Arthur Cotton's view of things.

The CHAIRMAN.—Of course the meanest person might bring an action against the Governor-General, but—he had better not do so. (A laugh.) Shall we now close this meeting, as we have really devoted a good deal of time to the subject? We need not discuss the question as to whether irrigation is valuable to the land or the Government. That is universally admitted; and we have seen the melancholy effects of the want of it in many districts. Central India at the present time is suffering from famine. Villages are depopulated, and people are flying to the Ganges in consequence of the want of water in Rajapootana. There is no doubt at all that wherever water is put upon the land, the produce is doubled, trebled, and even quadrupled; therefore the value must be in a similar ratio. And with regard to the appreciation of the value of this, I hold in my hand a very curious petition, which I hope will be put into a proper form and be brought before the next meeting of the East India Association. It is a petition from land-owners, Zemindars, and others in the Jungala district, to Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Punjab Division; and it states that they are quite ready to go to the expense of a canal, extracted from the river Sutlej, for the purpose of irrigating their districts. Nothing can be more convincing in the way of proof that the natives do appreciate the value of these works, than this petition. However, the petition cannot be laid before this meeting to-day. I merely mention it in illustration of the discussion we have had upon the benefits of irrigation. I am sure you will have no difficulty in offering a vote of thanks to the author of this excellent paper for the suggestions which he has made to us. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks to Mr. Bowden was unanimously passed, and the proceedings terminated.

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#### MEETING, FEBRUARY 18, 1869.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR VINCENT EYRE, C.B., K.C.S.I., IN THE CHAIR.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I have great pleasure in introducing to you the Hon. Henry Stanley, who has lately become a member of our Association, and has kindly prepared a paper for perusal on a subject which cannot but prove of great interest in relation to our fellow-subjects, the natives of India, many of whom are constantly in the habit of visiting this country—some on private and some on public affairs. Mr. Stanley is

well known already as a distinguished Orientalist and traveller; therefore he is well capable of dealing with such questions; and I am sure that he will be listened to with the interest and attention which the subject and the author deserve. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. HENRY STANLEY then read a Paper on

*The Establishment of a "Musafir-khaneh," or "Guest-house," for Asiatics in London.*

SIR,—The subject which I propose to bring under the notice of your Association is one, the importance of which has long been felt, and which has been, I believe, supported as far back as twenty years ago by a member of your Council; but it has not, to my knowledge, ever yet been brought before the public.

I refer to the necessity of establishing in London a Musafir-khaneh, or Guest-house, for the accommodation of Asiatics who come to England; and I propose to attempt to show that is a duty on the part of the British Government, and also a measure recommended by expediency.

It will hardly be denied that this country, having assumed the government of many countries and tracts of Asia, and having substituted its sovereignty in the place of the Asiatic sovereignties which ruled those tracts, has incurred, along with the ordinary responsibilities of Government, which every government owes to its subjects, certain additional liabilities entailed upon it by its inheritance of charges upon the Governments of Asia, which accompanied their power and revenue, which have now accrued to the British Government.

Among those charges upon an Asiatic Government, or duties which it fulfils, and which have devolved upon us their successors, may be mentioned the duty and the practice of a Government of entertaining guests of a certain class. These guests, provided for by Asiatic Governments, may be divided into three classes; our Government is bound to provide for the reception of two of these, and it would be expedient for it to provide also for the third class.

These classes are:—

1. Ambassadors and Public Functionaries;
2. Suitors and Claimants;
3. Travellers of distinction.

It will be better, perhaps, to begin with a few words upon the practice of Asiatic Governments—a practice so ancient, that it has established custom, which is often more binding than written law, and which, being implanted in the minds of Asiatic subjects, leads them to expect its fulfilment as much by a foreign as by a native Government.

Firstly, with regard to Ambassadors. These have always been received at the frontier of Asiatic States by an officer named Mihmandar, or the guest-master; and they are usually entertained in the capital of the sovereign to whom they are accredited, at least for a short time on their first arrival, until they can conveniently lodge themselves.

Such is the practice at Constantinople and Petersburg, where the envoys of some of the Central Asiatic States are always lodged in the Musafir-khaneh, at the expense of the State: so also in Persia, and all other Asiatic countries. Such used to be the practice in Spain as late as 1698, when Mr. Stanhope wrote:—"The French Ambassador has demanded to have his *Hospedaje*, that is, to be treated nine days, in a house designed for that purpose, at the king's charge. This is a custom that has been many years antiquated here, except with Turks, Moors, and Muscovites; however, it is granted him." In Wallachia and Moldavia the same practice holds; and at the time of the Danubian Commission in 1857, each of the European Commissioners had a mihmandar appointed to attend upon him, and they were lodged at the expense of the Principalities. Public functionaries are also received into the Musafir-khanehs; for instance, Turkish officials going or coming from Arabia are, if they require it, received in the Musafir-khaneh at Cairo.

Claimants and travellers are in the same case. The most remarkable instance of liberality to a private traveller is perhaps that of Ibn Batuta, who was entertained in India and other parts of Asia at the expense of the sovereign whose dominions he visited; and this appears to have been more owing to custom than to the fact of his having filled a judgeship in the Maldivé Islands, and also at Delhi. I have

known of travellers entertained in the same way both at Constantinople and in other towns of Asia. The *Musafir-khanehs* of Constantinople and Cairo are Government establishments, presided over by officials who receive an allowance for the entertainment of each guest, which is appointed by the Government according to the rank of the guest. The villages on the high roads throughout the Ottoman Empire have also got *Musafir-khanehs*, which are kept up at the expense of the village for the entertainment of ordinary travellers.

Whilst the British Government is bound to provide for the reception of Asiatic envoys, in accordance with custom, because it has become an Asiatic Government, it is no less bound to do so, on the ground of reciprocity, towards the above-named countries, and towards Siam, China, and Japan, where our envoys and consuls are constantly lodged in temple-buildings; and this is so frequent a practice, that, were it not complied with, a European consul in those countries would raise a complaint; and the exigencies of the European consuls for lodging in Japan have been mentioned as one of the vexations of which the Japanese complained.\*

Suitors and claimants have been mentioned as persons who have a right to expect to be received in a *Musafir-khaneh*; for these persons, though not envoys of independent States, are frequently the representatives of large bodies of men, or of princes, with rights guaranteed by treaties; others may be persons who have suffered hardship or injustice; and as several cases have occurred in which claimants have obtained from the Imperial Government the redress which they sought for, it may fairly be assumed that the State was benefited by those persons having obtained justice; and the justice they obtained would have been rendered still more grateful to them, and the good name of the British Government augmented, had those persons been treated more in accordance with their national custom and usages. To these persons may be added the students on their first arrival from Japan, China, and Siam, whom the Government encourages to come to this country.

This leads to the consideration of the expediency of giving reception in a *Musafir-khaneh* to the third-class of those entertained in the *Musafir-khanehs* of Asia, namely, private travellers.

Howsoever Asiatic usage might be in their favour, such a practice would be so little understood in this country, that the mention of it would, perhaps, prejudice the advocacy of the claims of the official travellers, were it not that influential organs of the press have at various times dilated on the advantages to be obtained from the visits to England of educated men from among the inhabitants of India. These advantages are, indeed, sufficiently obvious; and if any inducements were to be held out to the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula to visit London, the certainty of finding a lodging suited to their wants would be a greater inducement than the granting of a free passage from India to this country.

It may be urged upon those who are unwilling to be swayed by merely Asiatic precedents and example, that the French Government also furnishes a similar example for their imitation, for it has established a guest-house in the *Champs Elysées*, to which it sent embassies from Morocco and other countries. The French Government, however, has much fewer occasions to make use of such a house than the British Government, whose relations with Asia are so much more extensive and multiplied.

It will, perhaps, be said that on those occasions when a *Musafir-khaneh* is required, the Government may entertain its guests in hotels, as it has done in the case of a Japanese embassy, and of others; and the reply is, that through the want of a *Musafir-khaneh*, and dependence on the hotels, the Government is put to very much greater expense, and the guests are much less comfortable; they lose also the satisfaction of feeling themselves to be the guests of the State, which feeling cannot be conveyed by a billet on an hotel. Moreover, if the Government had a house at its disposal to which it could send its guests, it might afford to be more liberal than it is at present.

In illustration of the kind of persons who, besides envoys, should be entertained in a *Musafir-khaneh*, I might cite the case of a Persian nobleman who arrived in London in the year of the first Great Exhibition with a complaint or claim. It is unnecessary to enter into the subject of his claim, and it will be sufficient to say that the Government of the day ordered that he should be entertained, and eventually it supplied him with the means of returning to his country. There was some difficulty as to lodging him, for he could speak no European language, and he was confided to

\* 'Diplomacy in Japan,' pp. 10-15.



a doctor, who had lived in Syria, and who professed to receive any Orientals who might be coming to London to visit the Exhibition. This gentleman, however, contented himself with placing the Persian in a tavern; and next day an officer who had served in Persia, and who was sent to call upon him, found him in a fit of despondency at being in a Mey-khaneh, and described him as being as nearly ready to commit suicide as a Mussulman well could be. Fortunately for him, he was removed to the private house of an ex-consul, who could communicate with him and make him comfortable.

When Abd-el-Kader came to London, no notice whatever was taken of him, and this neglect was commented upon by the newspapers. Some time after that I met one of Abd-el-Kader's suite, who complained bitterly of the treatment they had received in England. I succeeded in pacifying him; but if he was reassured as to the friendly disposition of this country, his respect for its management or intelligence was not much increased.

Many other cases might be quoted of persons whose position or whose claims on the Government entitle them to expect the hospitality of a Musafir-khaneh. All the claimants to whom I refer, whether subjects of the British Crown, or the subjects of other States, did not seek these shores voluntarily, but were obliged to come on account of the acts of Englishmen. It may be said of all of them, that whatever they had to suffer from the climate of London, from the uncertainties attaching to suits, and the hardships of being away from home, was aggravated by their mode of life in lodgings and private houses in remote parts of this large capital. Had they had the resource of a Musafir-khaneh, many of them would have had the advantage of the society of persons of similar customs, usages, and language, with which to help them to overcome the tediousness of exile, and would have carried away a more agreeable recollection of their stay in England.

As many of these suitors (perhaps the majority of their number) succeeded in obtaining the objects of their journey, it may be said that political interests are in favour of the proposition I have been advocating; but the simpler claims of humanity are not without weight, and are well expressed by the Yemen poet, Abder Rahim el Buray, as translated by Captain R. Burton:—

"He hath claims on the dwellers in the places of their birth,  
He that wandereth the world, for he lacketh him a home."

I will conclude by stating that twenty years ago some of the princes of India proposed to build a Musafir-khaneh in London; but the project fell to the ground, as it met with no encouragement, with one or two exceptions. It is, however, our duty, and not that of the princes of India, to establish such an institution, which, if established by them, would deprive us of the power of naming it our guest-house; and this would be even a more severe criticism upon our bad management than the present total absence of official hospitality.

It has been suggested to me, that the building formerly occupied by the Board of Control would be suitable, and would be at the disposal of the Government for this purpose.

LONDON, January 21, 1869.

Major-General C. F. NORTH then rose, and said:—The author of this paper starts with a proposition which he seems to take as undeniable, namely, that the Government are bound to provide a lodging for certain classes of natives, whom he has arranged under three heads—ambassadors, claimants, and travellers of distinction. Now, I think I am right in stating (although I make the observation subject to correction) that the late East India Company generally discouraged the visits of natives to this country; therefore that is one reason probably why a Musafir-khaneh, or, as it might be more properly called, Mehman-khaneh, has never been established in this country. But taking it for granted that the Government are bound to provide a guest-house for visitors of distinction to this country, it is very rarely indeed that we have any here. If the place that has been mentioned—the large building at the back of these premises, where the late Board of Control used to sit—were set apart and fitted up for this purpose, you would have a large establishment, such as that would be, with furniture, and a staff of servants to be kept up at a vast expense, the furniture deteriorating, whilst the building might be unoccupied perhaps for years together. I would beg to point out, that even the present Government have never,



to my knowledge, done more than hire a mansion when any crowned head, or ambassador, or European Prince, or person of distinction has come here as a guest of the State. Many instances have occurred of late years where, I believe, even crowned heads have been lodged in hotels rather than in any place provided for their reception especially. Therefore it seems to me that the same course should be pursued, supposing the Government admitted that they were bound to provide a residence for any natives of distinction who came to this country. When the occasion offered, they could provide a more convenient lodging than any *Mehman-khaneh* could afford, by hiring a mansion, where natives could live according to the prejudices of their caste, and according to the rites of their religion, much better than if a *Mehman-khaneh* were provided for *Hindoos* and other Asiatic races. I do not say this in disparagement of the idea of Mr. Stanley, but I merely point out what seem to be practical difficulties and objections in the way of establishing a *Mehman-khaneh*. (Hear, hear.)

Major EVANS BELL.—I think most of the precedents mentioned in the paper were precedents derived either from days when facilities for travelling, and the means of communication between nations, were very deficient, or from nations at present in an inferior state of civilization, and destitute of public places of entertainment. If the author of the paper had very strongly said that our Government had very often exhibited a certain degree of neglect and a want of tact on the arrival of distinguished strangers in this country—as in the case of the Viceroy of Egypt, for whom very unsuitable accommodation had been provided in the first place, and until a distinguished nobleman, but still a private person, placed his mansion at the disposal of his Highness; and as in the case of *Abd-el-Kader*, who certainly was slighted in a very remarkable manner—I think that would be a very good argument for the appointment of some public officer charged with the duty of attending to these cases. But really, at present, when any distinguished visitor can always procure letters of introduction which will secure for him all the information which he needs, and all the attention due to his position, I do not think that there is any necessity for a special building being erected. In fact, I think the only class of persons who can be said to have any claim on the Government, are recognized envoys and persons of the rank of Sovereign Princes. As to persons who come to prosecute suits and prefer grievances having any claim on the Government for reception, I should deny it altogether. I think the concession of that would be a fruitful source of law-suits, and it would very much encourage the concoction of grievances. (Hear, hear.) Anybody wanting to come to England might in that case set up a grievance in order that he might be comfortably lodged and attended to whilst he was in England.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD, M.P.—I must say that I think it would be far better that Orientals of great wealth and high station who visit this country should hire a house, than that they should have one particular building provided for them. If it is inconvenient to hire a private house, why should they not go to hotels? I think we should endeavour to encourage them to abandon the prejudices of caste and religion, and live as English people and Europeans do. We find that Egyptians and Turks visit all the capitals of Europe, and live for months in Paris, Vienna, Nice, and wherever they can find amusement. They take apartments in hotels, or hire houses, and eat at table with other people not of their race or religion, and live in all respects, so far as we can judge, as Europeans do. I think that is rather to be encouraged. (Hear, hear.) I should encourage them to throw off those prejudices which they are obliged to submit to in their own countries. For these reasons I do not see any necessity for setting apart any building for Orientals, who are wealthy enough to hire houses or apartments for their own use. With regard to the poorer classes, very few of them come to England; and as to those who come as suitors for justice, from India, they are always able to provide for themselves; otherwise, they could not afford to appeal.

Major LEE.—Whilst I agree with what has fallen from Sir Charles Wingfield, I must at the same time say, that our country does suffer in reputation for want of such an arrangement as that proposed by the Hon. Mr. Stanley. Although hereafter it may be desirable to follow the course adopted in other countries with regard to Turks and Egyptians, yet the advance in India has not been so great as to render it unnecessary to take care of offending the natives by disregard of their prejudices. I have had some personal experience on this point, in entertaining an envoy from a prince in India; and I must admit that, although it was a labour of pleasure, it was nevertheless, to a certain extent, a tax, because this Indian gentleman was really unable to move about without my assistance. Had there been such a place as a *Musafir-khaneh*, in which

there was an officer who understood native manners and customs, no doubt this distinguished Indian gentleman would have found everything comfortable. Although he was not at all wanting in means, he would have gone back to his own country with a higher respect for the British Government for taking care of its visitors than, I fear, he now has. My own experience of travelling in India is this:—A letter (without the least official pressure) to the political officer has always secured for me the greatest attention as to lodging, both for myself and for my horses; and not only so, but servants were provided for me. If any of these native chiefs came to England, I, as an Englishman, should feel rather ashamed of my own country if no arrangements were made for them. It has been remarked in India very much that what took place with regard to the Viceroy of Egypt was a disgrace to the English Government; and the same applies to the reception of one or two other distinguished visitors. Therefore, I think that a great deal is to be said in favour of what is proposed in Mr. Stanley's paper. When nations become so advanced, that the higher and more distinguished men among them always speak English or French, or both, it is a very different matter. They understand European habits and customs; but many of the great princes of India have not received an English education; and it would be very difficult indeed for them to visit this country, unless they themselves deputed some persons conversant equally with European and Asiatic manners to make suitable arrangements for them, or unless they were placed by our Government into the hands of such people. If a Musafir-khaneh is not established, I think that a Mihmandar should be appointed, who would make such arrangements as would be suitable to the habits and customs of the people, and would provide for a due regard being paid to their religion. Now, whilst I think it very desirable that a public officer should be appointed, such as I have been describing, I must still express the hope that some effort will be made to provide some establishment, if not so large as has been contemplated, where people could be lodged. Considering the extent of our possessions in India, that we have so many kings and princes under our orders, and considering that 200,000*l.* have been spent out of the revenues of India to build an office for the Secretary of State, I do not think it would be too much to devote even a large sum of money to this purpose, even although the house was not largely used. By such a movement as this, our Government would gain in credit with the princes and kings of India; and we all know that that credit would be worth something. For my own part, I must say that I think Mr. Stanley's idea an exceedingly good one, and every way worthy the attention of our Government. (Cheers.)

MR. RIDDELL, C.S.I.—It appears to me that there is one fatal objection to the establishment of one of these houses in London; that is, that the princes of India and natives of distinction who might be expected to take advantage of it, so differ among themselves in manners and religion, that the building suitable for one would be entirely unfit for another. (Hear, hear.) The case of the Viceroy of Egypt has been mentioned more than once in the course of the present proceedings. Perhaps the conduct of the Government was to some extent a slight to His Highness, though not, to the extent it has been said to be. But supposing you had had this Musafir-khaneh, could you have put the Viceroy of Egypt, who is a Mussulman, into such a house while it was occupied by the Rajah of Yondpore? I think it probably would be very desirable to find, and I think the Secretary of State would have no difficulty in finding, one of the numerous gentlemen at home who are thoroughly familiar with Oriental life to act as Mihmandar to any princes or distinguished natives of India who might happen to come to England; but I think it would be very inconvenient if not impracticable to have any one establishment open to visitors belonging to all the different races and religions of the East. With regard to suitors who come here, as an English tax-payer, I should most assuredly object strongly to the payment of a single penny towards their expenses. Some, no doubt, have good cause for their appeals, but others have not; and how are we to discriminate? I see no reason why suitors from India should not pay their own expenses. Then, as to those who come for their own amusement, they are perfectly well able to take care of themselves; and the Government certainly need not go to the expense of establishing a house of this sort for them. (Hear, hear; and some expression of dissent.)

THE DEWAN MATHRA DOSS [*Minister to His Highness the Maharajah of Kappoortala, G.C.S.I.*].—I agree with the views expressed in the paper of the Hon. Mr. Stanley, because I have had a good deal of experience with regard to the condition of Asiatics who visit this country, which experience convinces me of the benefit which would result

if Mr. Stanley's scheme were carried into effect. Although when I came to this country I was able to afford a house, I was in great trouble because I did not know the customs and habits of your nation. Therefore I was very fortunate in representing a master who has great friends here, who afforded me great help and assistance. I was placed in a very good house, with a great many servants, and they were instructed by a great friend of my master to carry out the habits and customs so necessary for us. An Indian may come here who can afford to pay for a house and everything he wants, but perhaps he may get into the hands of a bad man, and be ruined. On that account Indian princes and kings are prevented from coming to England. I do not say that you should support your visitors from India—they can support themselves when they come to this country—but it is very desirable that they should have some one to guide them, to take them into good society, and to show them places and objects which would convince them of the greatness of this country, and so secure their good influence in their own country to your benefit. But at present they cannot come, because there is no such assistance at hand for them. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN.—Before calling upon Mr. Stanley to respond, as I presume he wishes to do, I will make a few observations upon his paper, and also upon what has been said in the course of this discussion. I think we must all feel thankful to Mr. Stanley for the benevolent and patriotic feeling which is evinced in his paper, whatever difference of opinion there may be amongst us as to the practicability of his scheme. (Hear, hear.) I for one am sorry that his paper was so short, and that he did not follow up his remarks by unfolding some practical scheme of his own for carrying out what he considers so desirable. At the same time I consider it a most useful thing that such a subject as this should have been ventilated, as it is now, especially in the presence of so many native gentlemen. We are particularly happy to-day in having heard such an excellent representative of native gentlemen give expression to his views upon the subject. (Cheers.) I look upon it as one of the great advantages of this Association that it enables the people of this country to see into the native mind more than they would otherwise be able to do. That cannot but be beneficial to us as the rulers of that great country. We very often deal with subjects of great interest to them, in the dark, from our really not knowing what is passing in their minds with respect to matters of so great importance to them. No doubt there are very great difficulties in the way of carrying out Mr. Stanley's idea, especially as regards the establishment of what would appear to be a large Oriental hotel. When one considers, as Mr. Riddell justly remarked, the variety of the tribes and religions of the people of India, one cannot but see that it would be almost impossible to make provisions in one building in a city like this, which would be suitable to them all alike. I cannot help thinking that the result would remind us to some extent of those happy families which we have seen exhibited occasionally in Regent Street and elsewhere. There we see the cat, the dog, the owl, the mouse, and other animals brought together in one cage; but I fancy it requires all the vigilance of the keeper to prevent them from eating one another, or, at all events, from disagreeing seriously. I am afraid something of that sort might be the case in such an establishment as is proposed;—but at the same time something might be done with regard to the reception of visitors from India, which would be to the credit of our Indian Government. It can scarcely fail to be a source of embarrassment to the Indian House authorities that so many Indian subjects come to London from time to time, and are turned adrift on the tender mercies of strangers; and I hope that one result of this subject having been ventilated will be to facilitate some arrangements by the Government of India for a proper reception of our Indian subjects, whether small or great, when they visit this country. With regard to great men, like the Pasha of Egypt, and princes of high position, I think there is seldom much difficulty, provided they come properly accredited from the Government of India to the Government of this country. We may be tolerably sure that in their case proper arrangements will always be made for their reception in future, after the mistakes which have been made with regard to the Pasha of Egypt and others—the mistakes having excited so much attention. But there are many gentlemen, natives of India, some of only moderate means, who are attracted to this country by having cases of importance to lay before the Government. Many of these gentlemen must be at a great disadvantage upon arriving in a great city like this, with no proper introductions, and no friend to look after them. I do think that a certain amount of parental care might very properly be shown by the India House authorities on behalf of such persons; and I can conceive no better commencement than that

which has already been suggested by Major Lees and others who have spoken, namely, the appointment of an efficient public officer—call him what you will, *Mihmandar* or otherwise—thoroughly conversant with Oriental habits, whose duty shall be to receive and attend to our Indian subjects visiting this country. I would also suggest that there should be in connection with the India Office a building or a room properly fitted up, which might be a kind of general resort for these gentlemen. (Cheers.) It might be arranged so as to answer the purposes of a club. There this official should establish his head-quarters, and be always ready to meet strangers on their arrival, and assist them in every possible way.

MR. STANLEY.—I am afraid that in some respects I have not succeeded in making my meaning sufficiently plain. I guarded myself against saying that the Government were bound to take the steps I suggested, except as to ambassadors. Political expediency, and perhaps humanity, were the grounds of my remarks as to the entertainment of other visitors. I am sorry that the gentleman is not now present who said that the old East India Government did not want to receive people from India, or to encourage their visits. Surely that must have been in the time of Warren Hastings. The 'Times' and other papers have frequently expressed their desire that Indians should come to see this country, so that they might get important ideas of the power of England; and for other reasons affecting our own welfare and interests more than theirs. An observation was made about crowned heads being sent to hotels. It would be indiscreet, perhaps, to mention the name of a Member of Parliament who intended to move for the establishment of a similar house to that which I have mentioned, for the reception and accommodation of European princes. He thought it was disgraceful to this country that European sovereigns should be sent to hotels, instead of to places provided for their suitable reception by the British Government. In France and in Russia they have done very much the same thing as I wish were done here. A great deal too much stress has been laid upon the "happy family" arrangement. People in Asia, of all creeds, and of widely different customs and habits, live together in much greater harmony than is commonly supposed. For example, the Dewan Mathra Doss, who has addressed us, has servants of different religions, all living in harmony in the same house. I am sorry that neither Sir Bartle Frere nor Sir Henry Rawlinson, who, twenty years ago, wished to start this project, are here—they would have been able to advocate the idea better than I can do. An observation was made as to the shortness of my paper. I might easily have prolonged it by giving a great number of instances of people who have come to England from the East, and been greatly disappointed with their reception; but I contented myself with the instance of the Persian nobleman, who came here in Lord Palmerston's time, and with that of Abd-el-Kader. I did not mention others, because I did not wish to hurt the feelings of those who stood in the way of these people being properly received. With regard to the remark of one gentleman, who said that suitors and claimants were wealthy enough, and did not require assistance, I may just mention that two gentlemen recently came to London from India, and soon found themselves in the greatest want. They seem to have come on a very proper errand, having had, apparently, a denial of justice in India. It turned out that they are *Zemindars*, and they were sent to the Strangers' Home, established by the late Prince Consort. But that place was never intended for such strangers as those I have just mentioned: it was intended for such as the *Lascars*, who are brought here in our ships, to save them from beating their tom-toms in the street, and to enable them to go back to their homes at the first opportunity. Then as to what has been said about the building. I say that no new building need be erected. It would be easy enough to adapt some Government building to the purpose; and it might be done without the great expense which has been mentioned as necessary. At least, there can be no good reason why a guest-master should not be appointed for persons who have business to transact with the India and the Foreign Offices. That is most essential. (Cheers.)

LORD LYVEDEN.—I am sure you will all agree with me in saying that the Association is very much indebted to any person who, with great knowledge of the East, contributes a paper for the information of this meeting. (Cheers.) Whether the plan which Mr. Stanley proposes is desirable or feasible, I do not feel competent to say. There appear, on the one hand, to be great difficulties in the way; and yet, on the other hand, it seems that great advantage would be derived from it. I do not agree with the little fault which the Chairman seemed to find with Mr. Stanley's paper on the ground of its being too short. The more concise and comprehensive such papers are

the better; and you will all agree with me in thinking that the paper we have had to-day well deserves those two epithets. I do not desire to enter into the discussion of this subject. My purpose is merely to ask you to pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Stanley for having been so obliging as to produce so excellent a paper upon this subject; and though we may not be prepared to go the length of urging the scheme upon the present Government, it is well worthy of their consideration, as well as of ours, and I think the discussion which has taken place will be of great use. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FRIZ-WILLIAM seconded the vote of thanks to the Hon. Mr. Stanley, and it was unanimously carried.

The proceedings ended with a unanimous vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Mr. Bannajee, and seconded by Colonel French.

### MEETING, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1869.

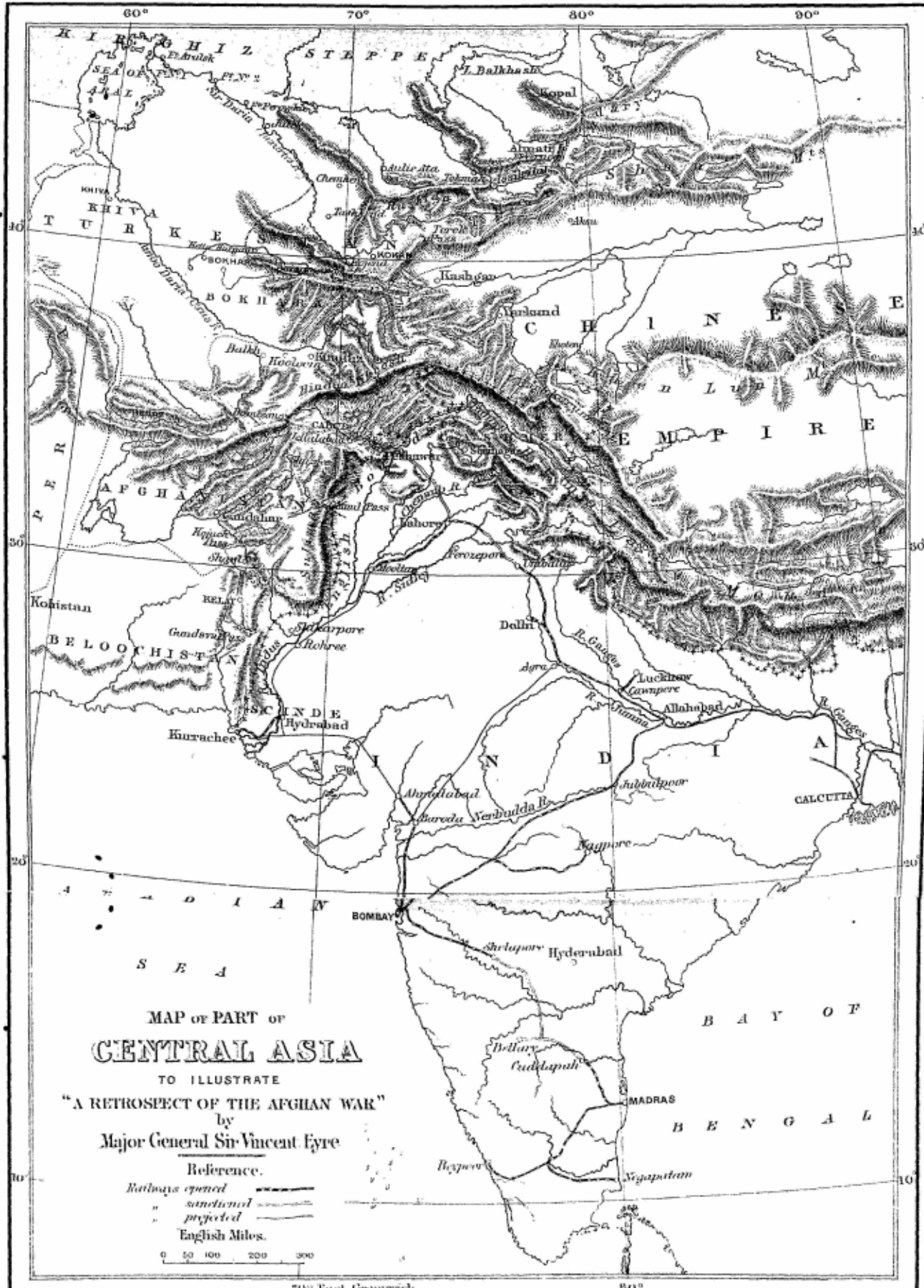
SIR RODERICK I. MURCHISON, K.C.B., IN THE CHAIR.

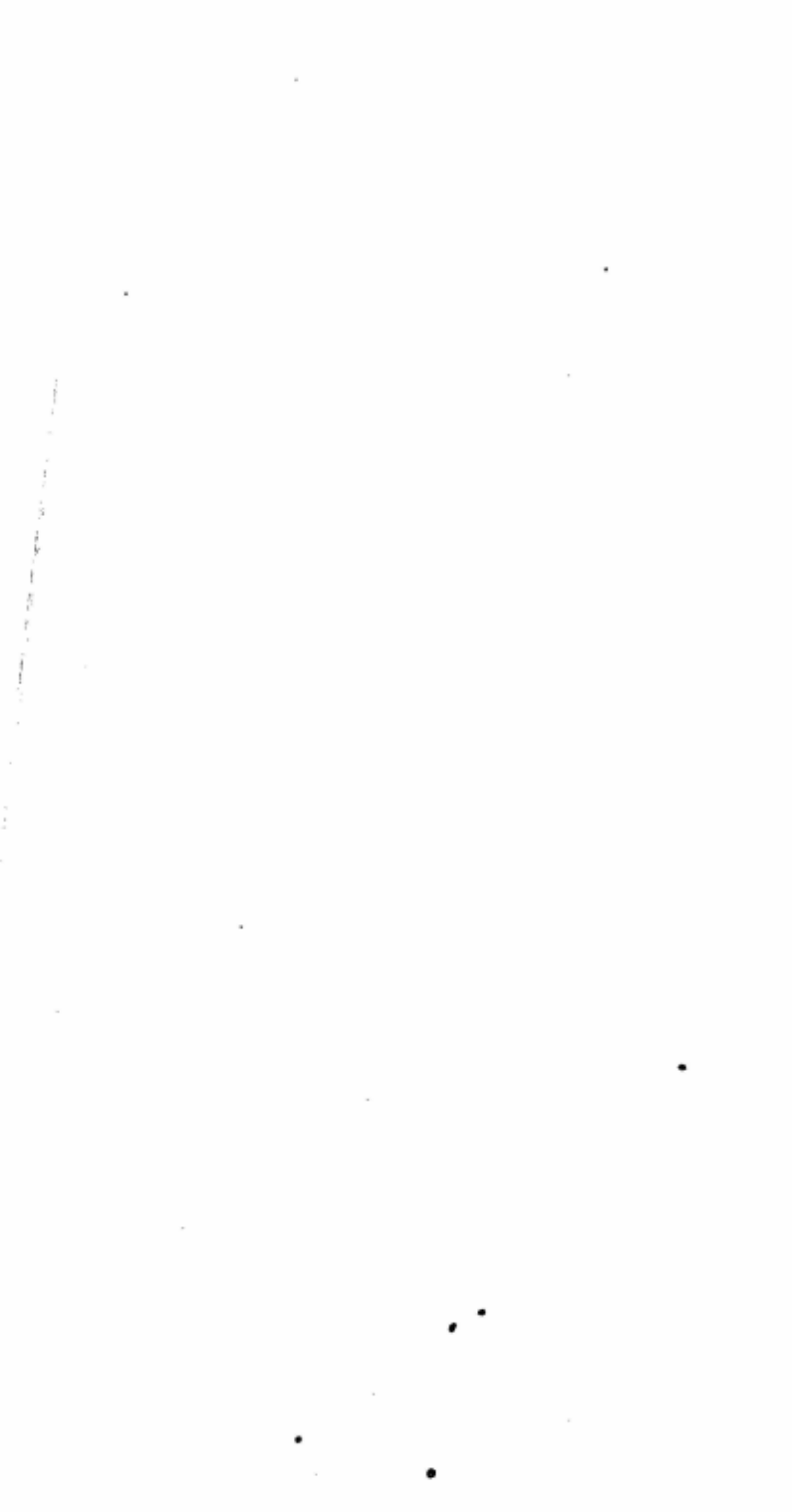
A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Wednesday, April 7, 1869, to hear a Paper read by Major-General SIR VINCENT EYRE, K.C.S.I., C.B., entitled:—

*A Retrospect of the Affghan War, with reference to passing Events in Central Asia.*

SIR VINCENT EYRE.—Sir Roderick, before proceeding with my paper, with your kind permission, I wish to address a few words to the members of the East India Association who may be present. My object in addressing them is to prevent any possible disappointment they may feel, arising from the fact which I am about to state, that after Sir Roderick Murchison kindly undertook to support me by taking the chair on this occasion, he expressed to me a strong hope and desire that my paper should not be followed at present by any political discussion; and he gave me such very strong and cogent reasons for this wish, that I felt myself bound to comply with it on my own responsibility; and I pledged Sir Roderick that I would, as far as in me lay, carry out his wishes. It is possible that some members of the East India Association may have come here with an idea that there would be a discussion, a wide one probably, with reference to the principal subject of my paper. I cannot say that I wrote this paper with any such view. The object of my writing it will, I think, be sufficiently developed in the course of its perusal. You are all aware that the subject has been discussed almost *ad nauseam* already in the public papers, especially those which reach us from India. At the same time, if there should be any members of the East India Association who think that there are points in the paper which admit of fair discussion, it will still be open to them to discuss them at an adjourned meeting in their own particular room, at any time which they may find convenient, when I shall be most happy to attend. I cannot but express my own belief that a discussion is at present unnecessary, and perhaps would lead to no particular good result.

Having thus addressed the members of the East India Association, I wish to remark, that what applies to them will also apply to all present in that respect. It is, I know, a generally-received axiom that Indian subjects are a bore. I believe that all subjects are a bore more or less when lugged into discussion on ill-timed occasions; but that can hardly apply to a paper like this, which is written at the express desire of an Association connected with India. Moreover, I cannot but think that the interest of history never ceases, especially a history like that of the Affghan war, which affected the happiness of thousands of families in our own country—families most of whom had some members whose fortune it was to meet with “glory or a grave” in the course of that campaign. I am glad to see here many of my old comrades in Affghan-istan who fortunately met with the former fate; and not the least among those is Sir George Pollock, whose glory it was to retrieve our disasters in Affghan-istan. The history of the Affghan war has been often written, as you are well aware, but by none so fully, so ably, or so faithfully as by Mr. Kaye, whom I may call the prince of Indian







historians. I am not sure whether he is present now, but whether so or not, I hope he will allow me to express myself as I have done without offending his modesty. But his volumes are still as popular as ever, in spite of the story he tells being an old one. There is hardly any household library, I will venture to say, which does not possess his book. In addition to Mr. Kaye's work, the history of the Afghan War has also been admirably embodied in a condensed form in Mr. Marshman's more modern 'History of India,' a work which has so far commended itself to attention as to have been adopted by the Indian Government as an educational work in their schools and colleges. I have not scrupled to skim the pages of those eminent writers so far as suited my purpose on this occasion; and if the result should prove to my present audience a bore, I can only say that it is not the fault of the writers before mentioned, nor is it the fault of the subject, but simply the fault of myself.

Sir Vincent Eyre then proceeded to read the following paper, having first drawn the attention of the meeting to a map on the wall, containing the most recent information regarding Central Asia, gained from Russian and English sources:—

1. Perhaps no Governor-General of India ever assumed the reins of office with more benevolent inclinations and more peaceable intentions than Lord Auckland in 1836; yet, within less than two years, he plunged headlong into a war to which, there is reason to believe, he was all along secretly averse, and which has been since stamped by universal public opinion as the most unjust, ill-advised, and unnecessary that had ever engaged the energies of a British army, or risked the honourable reputation of the British name throughout the East.

2. Having been invited to contribute a paper for perusal before this Association during the present season, I could think of no more opportune and appropriate subject whereon to exercise our minds and memories than that afforded by a brief historical retrospect of the Afghan war of thirty years ago,—its origin, conduct, and consequences,—in order that, "forewarned and forearmed," by a vivid recollection of past mistakes and failures, we may be the better prepared to encounter such similar emergencies, present or future, as are inseparable from our peculiar position as the dominant power in India; the difficulties connected with which we must accept as our inevitable lot, and gird ourselves manfully to meet with that calm foresight and unflinching resolution which are alike the harbingers and guarantees of success.

3. It is now a well-established fact that the initiative in the Afghan war was taken in opposition to the opinion, and even in defiance of the protests of the Court of Directors, who were at that time the nominal trustees of India; and that a large share of the responsibility belongs to Her Majesty's Ministers in England, who, in common with Lord Auckland's official advisers, believed that the stability of our Indian empire was being so seriously threatened by the warlike operations of Persia, secretly influenced by Russian diplomacy in Central Asia, as to render it absolutely necessary for the rulers of India to arouse themselves to ward off the impending danger by some outward demonstration of power in that quarter.

4. A new monarch had recently succeeded to the throne of Persia, whose partialities had betrayed themselves in favour of a Russian alliance, in opposition to the interests of Great Britain, whose influence had heretofore prevailed over all rivals at the Court of Teheran; and among the earliest results of this change, was the determination to hurl a Persian army against the fortress of Herat, which had long been in possession of the Afghans, but to which an old claim on the part of Persia was now conveniently revived.

5. A general belief prevailed among European and Asiatic diplomatists of that period that the possession of Herat by Persia must necessarily threaten not only the safety of Afghanistan, but of the rich plains of the Punjab (at that time in possession of the great Sikh ruler Runjeet Singh) and of British India lying beyond. Therefore it was but natural that Afghans, Sikhs, and English should be anxious for some sort of alliance for purposes of mutual defence against a common enemy.

6. But, when it is considered what large disciplined forces might have been easily concentrated on any threatened point of our Indian frontier, how powerful an army of friendly Sikhs at that time occupied the Punjab, and what formidable physical obstacles the intervening country presents at all times to the march of a large invading force, hampered with artillery, commissariat, and other necessary *impedimenta*, it is difficult to account for the panic that so generally prevailed on any other rational ground than a consciousness of some weak and combustible points in the heteroge-



neous fabric of our Indian empire, which might cause it to collapse or explode suddenly and disastrously on the application of any sufficiently exciting forces from without.

7. It is to be hoped that the quarter of a century which has since elapsed has gradually placed our moral and material hold of India upon a much sounder basis than then existed, enabling our statesmen to listen with comparative calmness and complacency to all rumours (whether well or ill-founded) regarding the designs and doings of the potentates beyond our north-western frontier, such as so unfortunately sufficed to alarm and stir up to spasmodic action the less fortunate officials of an earlier period.

8. At that time the chief power in Affghanistan was in the able hands of Dost Mahomed Khan, whose capital was Cabul, and three of whose brothers governed at Candahar. Herat itself was held as an independent principality by Shah Kamran, a Suddoozye prince, whose father and uncles once reigned over Affghanistan, betraying and supplanting each other by turns, until themselves betrayed and supplanted by the great Barekzye chiefs, whose power now predominated, and whose elder brother, Futeh Khan, had long acted the part of minister and kingmaker, until at length treacherously put to a cruel death by Shah Kamran, against whom Dost Mahomed and the other surviving brothers of Futeh Khan accordingly cherished the bitterest feelings of hatred and revenge.

9. To gratify this dire hostility, the Candahar brothers were now willing to lend themselves to the designs of Persia, not without hope of some benefit resulting to themselves. But their great chieftain at Cabul, more far-sighted and patriotic than they, had solemnly cautioned them against the danger of incurring the enmity of the British, to the superior value of whose alliance he was fully alive, although Russia was at that very time bidding high for his adherence.

10. Matters were in this unsatisfactory state when, in September, 1837, Sir Alexander Burnes presented himself before Dost Mahomed at Cabul, as the accredited agent of the Indian Government, on a so-styled "commercial" mission, the real object of which was, however, sufficiently transparent.

11. The two men were already personally known to each other; Burnes having, about five years previously, been most hospitably entertained by the Cabul chief when passing through that city as a private traveller *en route* to Europe; hence his reappearance at the present momentous crisis could not but be hailed as a favourable omen of the friendly intentions of the British Government, whose representative he now was. His reception was, accordingly, of the most cordial and flattering description, and to all appearance he had an easy game to play; and it is probable that had he been allowed to arrange matters in his own way, all difficulties would have been smoothed over, and all motive for hostilities removed.

12. The obvious policy of the British Government at that period was to conciliate the goodwill of the Affghan nation (of whom Dost Mahomed was the acknowledged and popular *de facto* ruler), as the most effective barrier we could raise against present and future innovations of the Western powers; and this we had now a glorious opportunity of effecting through the timely instrumentality of Burnes, than whom no agent could have been found so appositely qualified for such a task, or more zealous to consummate so desirable a result.

13. But it was not so to be! Lord Auckland and his official advisers had, from the very first, conceived an inveterate distrust of Dost Mahomed, for the difficulties of whose position they failed to make due allowance, and whose many sterling qualities as a ruler they equally failed to understand and appreciate. In point of fact, they had meanwhile conceived a favourite policy of their own, entirely opposed to that so earnestly recommended by Burnes, and the result was his summary recall from Cabul early in 1838, and the temporary triumph of Russian and Persian interests in the councils of Cabul and Candahar.

14. A Persian army, with some Russian officers in its train, had meanwhile already laid siege to Herat, and all India looked on in wonder and alarm at the eventful drama enacting at her distant portal in the north-east. Fortunately, few Asiatic powers understand how to conduct siege operations, and Persia, even with the aid of Russian officers, and with its own monarch in person at the head of a sufficiently powerful army, and battering train, formed no exception to the rule. The siege lingered on from November, 1837, until September, 1838, affording ample time for intermediate action on the part of the British.

15. The credit of this prolonged defence was due, in an eminent degree, to the accidental presence within the walls of Herat of a young British officer of the Bombay Artillery, Eldred Pottinger by name. His professional skill and personal energy were of the utmost use in directing the defensive operations, and keeping alive the martial spirit of the garrison. On more than one occasion the Afghan commander, Yar Mahomed (who was also Shah Kamran's prime minister), was on the point of yielding to his assailants, but was shamed into a show, at least, of fresh courage by the entreaties, reproaches, and even friendly violence of Pottinger, who would not suffer him to retreat from the breach when retreat on his part must have been the signal for general flight, but literally dragged him forcibly again and again to the front, until the enemy, in despair at the pertinacity of resistance encountered, retired discomfited and crest-fallen to their trenches.

16. According to the authority of Russian officers engaged in the siege, the Shah of Persia's army amounted to 40,000 men, with 60 guns; and among the former was a Russian battalion, which I understand to have been composed of Russian refugees, settled in Persia. Not content with 18-pounder and 24-pounder siege guns, the fire from which, if properly concentrated and sustained, must have speedily effected a practicable breach, the Persian engineer entrusted with the siege operations established a foundry in the midst of the camp, wherein four monster 70-pounder guns were cast, from whose fire vast and immediate results were expected. Two of these burst on trial, killing several bystanders; the other two stood the test better, and several days were then occupied in hewing stone balls of the required calibre from the marble supplied by the monuments of a neighbouring burial place; and it may have been the periodical advent of these unfriendly, though fortunately harmless visitors, which Pottinger likens in his journal to the "three shots a-day which the Spanish army before Gibraltar fired for some time, and which the garrison called after 'The Trinity.'"

17. The garrison of Herat possessed very few pieces of ordnance wherewith to return these boisterous compliments; but, happily for them, it was not until five months had elapsed that Persian self-conceit could bring itself to take council from the Russian officers by erecting regular breaching batteries against particular points of the fortifications. The situation of the defenders then became more critical, and Pottinger's professional abilities were called into constant request.

18. The walls of Herat, as then existing, formed a large quadrangle, enclosing a space of nearly one square mile, being about 1600 yards long by 1400 broad, each face having about 30 round bastions; those at the four angles surpassing the rest in height and bulk; a deep wet ditch, having a *fausse-braye*, surrounding the whole. The walls, which were from 25 to 30 feet high, stood on an elevated mound of earth, varying from 40 to 60 feet above the level of the ground, and were of unburnt brick. There were five gates, each defended by a small outwork. On the north side stood the citadel, overlooking the city, and enclosed by lofty defences of a similar character, but in a very dilapidated condition. The defenders of Herat justly felt more faith in their double *fausse-braye* than in their walls, which now began to crumble rapidly under the concentrated fire of the enemy's round shot.

19. At length, on the 24th of June, the long threatened assault took place, which was confidently expected to carry all before it. The Persian astrologers, after closely consulting the stars, had predicted a signal triumph for their monarch on that day. The assaulting force was to advance in five divisions, each under its own independent commander. The Russian battalion formed the forlorn hope of one of them; but its leader (General Borowski) was shot down at the very first onset, and, by some accident, the men composing it contrived to get under the fire of the Persian batteries, in addition to the bullets and missiles of the Affghans, and were obliged to beat a retreat, with a loss of four officers and 250 men killed and wounded. Better success for some time seemed in store for another of the storming columns, which actually penetrated the defences, carrying all before it, but being feebly supported from behind, was again and again driven back, though more than once on the very verge of victory, but was as often baffled by the indomitable pluck of Eldred Pottinger, who, when all seemed lost, drove the faint-hearted Yar Mahomed before him to the rescue, as already related. Russian accounts do not hesitate to give the young English officer full credit for the result, so triumphant to the Affghans, so humiliating to their opponents; and one of them adds, "The Shah was in a violent rage at the failure, and gave orders to encompass the place with a high wall of mud, armed with towers, in order to starve the garrison out."

20. This desperate struggle was succeeded by a prolonged lull, during which famine and discord seemed but too likely to effect that wherein ordinary appliances of war had failed; when at a most critical juncture, the Shah took alarm at some open hostilities of the British on the Persian coast, and suddenly withdrew his forces, being careful, however, before his departure, to saw assunder the 70-pounder guns which were to have accomplished such wonders, each weighing 5 tons, and which he was unwilling to leave behind as an additional trophy for the now exulting Heratees.

21. As Eldred Pottinger, whom history will always celebrate as the "Hero of Herat," was subsequently my honoured friend and associate in the eventful episode of my own early experiences during the Cabul troubles, I have been unable to resist the temptation, at the risk of repeating what some may deem a threadbare tale, of entering into the above details (partly obtained from original sources) relating to the first great drama wherein he so conspicuously and so honourably figured, and whereupon, in fact, the chief interest of the war was so long concentrated. Should any similar crisis occur, whether in India or elsewhere, let us hope that another such British hero as Eldred Pottinger may as opportunely start forth into the full blaze of fame, fired by his example, animated by his spirit, and as competent to uphold the glory of his country and to disconcert the ambitious schemes of its enemies.

22. It is time I should now return to Lord Auckland and his new project, whereby the future safety of our north-west frontier was to be secured against the designs of Russian and Persian ambition. This consisted originally of a tri-partite treaty, wherein the British Indian Government, Runjeet Singh the ruler of the Punjab, and Shah Shooja the long dethroned monarch of Afghanistan, were the principal parties concerned. Thirty years had elapsed since the last-named personage had been driven from his throne to find, after some years of perilous adventure in Cashmere and the Punjab, a hospitable asylum in British territory; from which he twice issued forth at long intervals to engage in ineffectual efforts to regain his lost dominions. Meanwhile, Dost Mahomed, a younger brother of the murdered Futteh Khan, had risen to supreme power through his military ability and irrepressible force of character. Since 1826, he had contrived to hold his own against all antagonists, and had, by his frank urbanity of demeanour, his aptitude for business, manliness, and uniform success in the attainment of his aims, acquired a strong hold on the hearts and minds of the great mass of the Afghan people. Shah Shooja, on the contrary, was remembered chiefly for the absence of all those high qualities as a man and a ruler which shone so conspicuously in his rival; nor was his return to power a subject of desire to any save a few self-interested partizans and needy relatives. In spite of these drawbacks, however, it had been determined by the British Indian Government to suit their own policy by dispossessing the one and reinstating the other, without any real deference to the wishes and aspirations of the people most interested in the matter.

23. Accordingly, in a manifesto dated the 1st October, 1838, this new policy was publicly set forth, whereby our Sikh ally, Runjeet Singh, being "guaranteed in his present possessions, bound himself to co-operate with the British for the restoration of Shah Shooja to the throne of his ancestors." On the 8th of November following, the news of the retirement of the Persians from Herat was published by Government, but was not allowed to alter the political programme which had been already determined, further than by causing a diminution of the numerical strength of the British force to be employed, which afforded the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, a pretext for withdrawing from the personal command of the expedition, the policy of which he had never approved, his place being filled by Sir John Keane.

24. On the 10th December the Bengal force, under Sir Willoughby Cotton, marched from Ferozepore, proceeding by the left bank of the river Sutlej to Rohree, where that river joins the Indus. Shah Shooja had already started in advance to Shikarpore, escorted by Hindostanee levies numbering 6000 men, raised and disciplined by British officers for his special service. He was accompanied by Sir William Mac Naghten, who had been appointed envoy and minister at his court, and who had been one of the chief promoters of the expedition. Another force, 5600 strong, moved from Bombay through Scinde to the same point, where an admirable bridge of boats had been prepared by officers of the Bengal Engineers for the passage of the whole over the great river Indus. The entire invading force, when combined, amounted to 21,000, together with about four times that number of camp followers and upwards of 30,000 camels. This long miscellaneous array, consisting of cavalry, infantry,

artillery, with their attendant *impedimenta* of wheeled carriages and laden animals of every description, filed over the bridge in perfect order, presenting a picturesque and memorable spectacle.

25. Owing to the undisguised dislike manifested by the Ameers of Scinde to the passage of so many British troops through their country, there seemed every probability of hostilities breaking out in that quarter at the very commencement of the campaign, which must necessarily have delayed the onward progress of the army towards Afghanistan; but yielding to the force of circumstances, backed by the undeniable arguments of strong battalions eager for the plunder of the rich capital of Hyderabad, they had the good sense to succumb before compromising themselves too far, although they thereby obtained but a brief respite from the hard and inevitable fate in store, and which overtook them about four years later.

26. It is needless that I should dwell minutely on the military events of a campaign so well known as that which replaced Shah Shooja on his throne; but it may, nevertheless, be useful to glance, *en passant*, at some of the physical difficulties which the country opposed to the passage of our army. Having safely crossed the Indus, the vast invading host dragged its seemingly interminable length over 146 miles of dreary desert, bordering Beloochistan on the east; and there many hundreds of poor horses, camels, and bullocks perished from weariness and thirst, leaving their skeletons to mark unmistakably to future travellers the track of the invaders.

27. Then came the formidable Bolan Pass, sixty miles in length, where fortunately no enemy occupied the heights, although stragglers ran considerable risk from stray Beloochee robbers, ever on the watch behind the rocks for passing prey. Here the animals suffered severely and perished by hundreds. Emerging from this dismal gorge into the lovely and inviting valley of Shawl, seemed like passing from purgatory to paradise; but here, owing partly to a scanty harvest and partly to the wanton devastation caused by some of the troops themselves, provisions fell alarmingly short for so great a multitude, and famine prices prevailed. The neighbouring Khan of Kheilat was suspected of aggravating these difficulties, and was marked for future punishment.

28. Pushing on, therefore, with the least possible delay, the Kojuck Pass was reached, presenting a long succession of steep and difficult ascents and descents, with some exceedingly narrow gorges where no draught cattle could work with effect. The artillery, including a heavy battering train, was therefore dragged up and lowered down by the persevering manual labour of the English soldiers, occupying five days. The summit of the pass is 7419 feet above the sea. Here, too, much loss was sustained in commissariat, baggage, animals, and much valuable property sacrificed in consequence. Fortunately, the Afghans were too disunited among themselves to offer any organized resistance, and the army reached Candahar on the 25th April, 1839, without any show of opposition. The Candahar chiefs had fled for refuge to Persia without striking a blow, and the inhabitants tendered their reluctant homage to the old monarch, who was thus unceremoniously thrust upon them by foreign bayonets.

29. On the 27th June died Runjeet Singh, the famous old "Lion of the Punjab," and our ally in the present expedition. On the selfsame day Sir John Keane, leaving behind him a strong garrison at Candahar, and even the siege-train which had been brought so far with such heavy cost and labour, pursued his march to Ghuznee, where he encountered his first openly defiant foe in the person of Prince Hyder, a son of Dost Mahomed, who, with a garrison of 3500 Afghans, defended the fortress and citadel, which were of formidable strength and susceptible of a prolonged defence. Now was discovered the extraordinary blunder that had been committed in leaving behind the battering-train, without the aid of which the risk of utter failure seemed imminent. At this crisis an officer of Bengal Engineers came to the rescue with the happy proposal to blow open the only accessible gate with gunpowder. This was successfully accomplished in the partial obscurity of early dawn by a party of sappers, headed by Lieutenant Durand, of the Bengal Engineers, who volunteered for the duty, and who is believed to have originated the idea. He survived the dangerous hazard to attain high rank and distinction among those illustrious soldier-statesmen who have contributed so largely to the maintenance of our national honour in India, being at this moment recognized as among the foremost of those high officials whose character and career are indicative of that master-spirit which may be safely relied upon for aid and guidance in future emergencies.

30. The governor, Hyder Khan, was taken prisoner, and such was the panic produced among the troops of Dost Mahomed, who had taken up a position at Urghundee to dispute the British advance to Cabul, that, abandoning for the time all hope of maintaining his sovereignty, he fled with about 2000 faithful adherents towards Bamean. A select party of British officers, headed by the since illustrious Outram, and escorted by 2000 Afghan horse under command of Hajee Khan Kakur, a notorious turncoat, volunteered to start in pursuit, and, pushing their way by forced marches over stupendous mountain passes, must have overtaken the fugitive Ameer, encumbered as he was with his family and baggage, before he could reach the frontier, had not the aforesaid "Hajee" proved himself a traitor, whose real object was to throw every obstacle in the way of their progress and success. Thus Dost Mahomed escaped to Bokhara, not without the sympathies of many British hearts, until the wheel of fortune should once more give a revolution in his favour.

31. On the 6th of August, Shah Shooja, attended by Sir William MacNaghten, and escorted by the British troops, made his triumphal entry into Cabul, and took up his abode in the Bela Hissar, or Royal Citadel. There, on the 8th of September, he was joined by his eldest son, Prince Timour, who had meanwhile penetrated through the Khyber Pass from Peshawur, under the escort of a Sikh contingent furnished by Runjeet Singh, and under the political control of Colonel, afterwards Sir Claude, Wade, encountering but little opposition. And thus was the first act of this wondrous drama of real life brought to a successful termination.

32. Sir Henry Fane, the experienced general to whom the conduct of the Afghan expedition had been originally offered, had been also among the first to caution Lord Auckland of the dangers and difficulties that would inevitably beset the British troops in that country after the first successful result should have been achieved. Sir William MacNaghten, the British envoy, upon whom the chief political management of affairs was thenceforth to fall, was not long in experiencing the prophetic nature of that counsel. It soon became evident that Shah Shooja could only be maintained on his throne by the continued presence of a British force. This was, however, reduced to a moiety by the return of nearly the whole Bombay and a portion of the Bengal divisions to India. With the latter went Sir John Keane, soon to be made a peer for the conquest of Ghuznee, leaving Sir Willoughby Cotton in chief command of the remaining troops across the Indus, amounting to about 10,000 men, distributed over a wide extent of country, to garrison the chief cities and such other places as required their protecting presence. Advantage was taken of the return of the Bombay column to punish Mehrab Khan, the unlucky Khan of Khelat, for his so-called refractory conduct, to which allusion has already been made. He now offered an obstinate but ineffectual resistance to the attack on his stronghold, which was taken by assault by General Wiltshire on the 15th October, wherein the brave chief himself was killed. His death must have occasioned some pangs of remorse to Shah Shooja, whom he had formerly befriended in distress.

33. The two years which followed the establishment of Shah Shooja at Cabul were chiefly remarkable for the activity of our political officers, great and small, who were scattered far and wide over the land to assist in carrying out, as far as in them lay, the policy of our Government, which seems to have mainly consisted in consolidating the power of the Shah, and in extending, as Lord Auckland himself expressed it, "the salutary influence of the British name." The most prominent of these political agents, both in ability and influence, were D'Arcy Todd at Herat; Rawlinson (now Sir Henry) and Leech at Candahar; Eldred Pottinger in Kohistan; Macgregor (now Sir George) at Jellalabad; Arthur Conolly, on a special mission at Kokand; and Sir Alexander Burnes at Cabul. But besides these was a host of minor stars, each of whom added his quota to the grand work of "consolidation," which was not always synonymous with "pacification," and very generally ended in carving out some active work for the military in his immediate vicinity.

34. Foremost of those worthy of honourable mention was D'Arcy Todd, who had succeeded Pottinger as British representative at Herat, on the departure of the latter to recruit his health after the siege. Of Todd's long series of political encounters with the arch-intriguer Yar Mahomed, whose sole object seemed to be to extort money by working on our political fears and jealousies, I refrain from entering into the unedifying particulars; but that which really formed the distinguishing feature of his mission to Herat was his successful effort to induce the Khan of Khiva to set at liberty some 416 unfortunate Russian captives whose detention as slaves in Khiva

had been made a convenient, and, it must be admitted, a perfectly just pretext by Russia for invading that country. This noble triumph of humanity and of sound policy he accomplished by twice deputing a British officer, entirely on his own responsibility, to work on the fears and hopes of the Khivan chief. The negotiations auspiciously begun by James Abbott were judiciously followed up and brought to a successful issue by Richmond Shakespear, both being at that time subalterns of the Bengal Artillery; and to the latter fell the enviable lot of escorting the whole party of emancipated captives to the Russian frontier at Oranburgh, where they were safely delivered over to the commandant for restoration to their friends. The Russians, not to be outdone in acts that grace humanity, restored to the Khivans merchandise valued at two millions sterling, and, more precious than all beside, forty prisoners, among whom were representatives of the wealthiest families in Khiva. Seldom, if ever, has a negotiation been effected in the East so creditable to all parties concerned; nor since the brightest days of chivalry have the honours of knighthood which rewarded Shakespear been more worthily won. Sir Richmond Shakespear amply fulfilled the promise of his youth, and rose to high political position in India; dying in 1861. But James Abbott is still to the fore, with the rank of major-general on the active list, and is still, I regret to add, unrewarded, at least in the way that we soldiers most covet reward; although during our subsequent struggles with the Sikhs in the Punjab he rendered eminently good service at a critical period and in a manner well deserving of honourable remembrance.

35. Thus the Affghan campaign, with all its faults and drawbacks, bore some really good fruit, and evidenced in a remarkable manner what a store of excellent raw *matériel* for the manufacture of heroes and statesmen had been previously lying dormant in the Indian army. In this respect, indeed, it may be said to have awakened to new life the latent but laudable ambition of our officers, young and old, and has transmitted a forward impulse even to the present generation—an impulse which I earnestly hope may never cease to operate for their own and the public good. Many remarkable episodes, accompanied by gallant deeds and victorious issues, imparted an interest to the first year of our occupation of Afghanistan, and the temporary success of our policy may be said to have reached its culminating point on the defeat of Dost Mahomed at Bamecan, and his subsequent unconditional surrender on the 3rd November, 1840. Of course it is impossible within my present limits to offer more than a passing allusion to these supplementary events; but, as an old Bengal artilleryman, I cannot pass by in silence the successful passage of Major Garbett's troop of horse artillery over the stupendous passes of Hindoo Khoosh, at an altitude little below that of Mont Blanc, although the feat (of which we were then so proud) has very recently been creditably rivalled by some British batteries in Lord Napier's glorious Abyssinian expedition.

36. The year 1841 opened with a smiling prospect of peace and tranquillity, to be soon rudely disturbed by rebellious risings in various directions. The faults of our policy and the real weakness of our position began to grow more and more manifest to friends and foes. Had but Shah Shooja, our puppet king, proved himself a proper man for the position into which we had thrust him, all might have gone on swimmingly until such time as we could, with a good grace, have left him to the loyal care of his own subjects, with all the *éclat* due to our own success and moderation. But, his unpopularity naturally extended to us as his supporters, although our political leaders were wilfully blind to the fact, and, in the fulness of time, just as a winter of Siberian severity was setting in, the popular volcano suddenly burst forth, and found us unprepared. The result is too well known and too bitterly remembered to need repetition here. It was my own youthful fate to be the first to narrate the dismal tragedy to my countrymen in all its miserable details; and I have been since informed, by competent authority, that the same humble volume, which was the means of putting 1000*l.* into my pocket, had also the unprecedented and perhaps unpardonable effect of depriving the great Duke of Wellington of a whole night's slumber; and severe might have been the penalty for the author (then a wretched subaltern of artillery) had not his statements, wherein many unwelcome truths were faithfully though perhaps indiscreetly blurted out, been so abundantly confirmed by the concurrent testimony of trustworthy witnesses as to have held their ground in the pages of history down to the present day.

37. I have often since thought that perhaps too much importance has been attached to the Cabul disaster, viewed in its military aspects. Politically and morally its awful



lessons can never be over-rated, and certainly should never be forgotten; but, regarded simply as a military discomfiture, it was in fact the result of a *surprise*, somewhat like that whereby the celebrated Gulliver found himself tied and bound during sleep, and at the mercy of the Lilliputians. We English went on slumbering contentedly, as though the Affghans, whose country we had so coolly occupied, were our very best friends in the world, and quite content to be our obedient servants to boot, until one cold morning in November we woke up to the unpleasant sounds of bullets in the air, and an infuriated people's voices in revolt, like the great ocean's distant, angry roar, in a rising tempest. The best troops and the ablest generals in the world must ever find themselves placed at a great disadvantage under such circumstances. It should always be remembered that our winter supplies of food, and firewood, and forage, had not yet been laid in; that the few days' supply in store was indifferently guarded, and fell an easy prey to the enemy before we had quite recovered our senses from the first scare of our rude awakening; that thenceforward we had to turn out and fight daily against greatly superior numbers, backed by the strong forts wherewith the Cabul Valley was studded, and which latter we had to batter and carry by storm one after the other, in order thereby to obtain the needful supplies for our daily wants; so that, while our position was in a general sense defensive, we were obliged, in point of fact, to act continually on the offensive, which we nevertheless contrived to do with success until such time as we had exhausted the supplies laid up in the forts within our reach. Then, indeed, our position became, for the first time, hopeless; for even soldiers cannot sustain life on cannon balls and leaden bullets; and so it came to pass that our destiny became eventually dependent on the persuasive powers of our political officers in their attempts to treat with wily and embittered Affghan chiefs.

38. And this induces me to say that my own historical recollections and experiences have not impressed me with a profound confidence in the efficacy of mere diplomacy, conducted by even the most talented and sagacious of political agents, with Oriental potentates. These latter are far greater proficient in that peculiar use of language which consists in successfully "concealing the thoughts," and I entirely coincide with the view taken of such matters by the honest artillery gunner who was overheard, during one of our Indian campaigns, to say to a comrade, while pointing exultingly to a field battery of big guns drawn by elephants, "I say, Bill! *Them's the Politicals!*" At all events, matters fared very badly with us at Cabul when the arguments of big guns ceased to prevail; and we were soon made to experience the truth long ago enunciated by the old Roman poet:—

"Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos,  
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris!"

39. While, therefore, I freely concede all due honour to the illustrious garrisons of Candahar and Jellalabad, which, under Nott and Sale, so gallantly held those important posts against all opponents during the revolt, I claim for the defenders of Cabul that fair allowance should be made for the serious disadvantages under which they struggled from the very first, and beneath which they eventually succumbed, so far at least as to become the unconsenting victims of a hollow treaty formed with the assassin of our envoy—a treaty whose sole object on their part was to lure our garrison outside of its defences into those savage and formidable passes which form the highway from Cabul to Peshawur, and where treachery, cold, and famine would, they well knew, effectually combine for its destruction.

40. Still, their triumph was but of brief duration—a few short months sufficed to place Cabul again in our possession. Sir George Pollock, with his noble army of retribution, amply retrieved past disasters, and happily effected the liberation of those British captives (myself included) who had meanwhile been the unwilling recipients of rough Affghan hospitality—sometimes confined closely to lofty forts, sometimes hurried about from spot to spot on the backs of horses and camels in narrow valleys, as nomadic wanderers amid precipitous mountain-passes; lodging the while in such rude huts as we could construct for ourselves from the branches of juniper bushes, or in the mud hovels of the primitive inhabitants; sometimes treated with friendly deference, at others with systematic rudeness; and finally, when General Pollock approached Cabul, forced to fly, escorted by a strong guard of soldiers, over those self-same lofty mountain-passes leading to Koolcom, in Oozbeg Tartary, across which Major Garbett had in happier times, as previously related, dragged his horse-artillery guns. Had we once got into the clutches of the Oozbegs, I opine you would never

have heard this long-winded paper read, and might have in so far considered yourselves gainers instead of losers thereby. But, in a happy moment of inspiration, my old hero Pottinger (for he was of the party) betook to mesmerising our keeper with the prospect of a sufficiency of gold to keep him in comfort for the remainder of his life; and one fine morning, in the valley of Bameean, within sight of those gigantic images cut in the perpendicular rock which excite the wonder of travellers, we found ourselves all at once in the position of free agents. General Pollock, learning how affairs stood, dispatched Sir Richmond Shakespear to our aid with 600 Kuzzilbash horsemen from Cabul; and thus the latter officer enjoyed once more the triumph and éclat of taking a conspicuous part in obtaining "liberty to the captives;" this time his own countrymen and countrywomen being the favoured objects of his zeal. If the comparatively easy capture of Ghuznee was deemed worthy of a peerage for Sir John Keane, surely the reconquest of Cabul and its attendant triumphs, so honourable to the British name and so important in its results, should have secured, it might fairly be supposed, the same exalted honour for Pollock also; but so uncertain is the rule prevailing in such cases, that he was not even made a baronet.

41. Cabul reconquered, we might possibly have maintained our military hold upon Afghanistan even to the present day; but our game there had been played out. Shah Shooja was dead, having been basely murdered by one of his own trusted followers about two months after the British retreat from his capitol. There was no longer any object to gain by remaining against the wishes of the people, whilst the drain upon our Indian finances caused by this war had already swelled the public debt by fifteen millions, and every month's delay threatened but to accelerate our financial ruin. Lord Ellenborough, therefore, wisely determined to evacuate the country, and to restore the exiled Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan; an act of retributive justice which we have never had cause to repent; for he proved himself a most able and politic ruler till his death, which took place so late as June, 1863.

42. And here it is time I should wind up my retrospect, in order to devote a few final paragraphs to what, in a sermon, would be called the "Application" of the subject to passing events in the regions of which I have been speaking. No one now doubts that our position in Afghanistan was a false one—and fraught with danger in more ways than one. Unreasonably apprehensive of Russian aggression and intrigue, and counting on the fears and forbearance of our powerful neighbours and rivals, the Sikhs, we had the astounding temerity to march an army past their country into the wild and unknown regions of Afghanistan, and thus to risk our force being cut off from its base of operations, and from its nearest available supports; and although no such catastrophe actually occurred, and temporary success attended the hap-hazard invasion of a friendly country, still we eventually reaped the full harvest of our folly, and learned a lesson in the school of adversity which ought assuredly to suffice to restrain us from similar blunders in future.

43. But matters have meanwhile become very much altered for the better on our north-western frontier. The great Sikh army no longer exists; and British rule extends throughout the Punjab, even up to the very borders of Afghanistan. Perhaps for this very reason there may be all the more danger of our being again tempted to play at our favourite old game in opposition to Russian progress in Central Asia; that political bugbear which perpetually haunts the imaginations of so many of our Eastern fellow-subjects.

Compared with the difficulties that beset our first invasion of the kingdom of Cabul, such a movement would now seem so temptingly easy, that any startling renewal of the Russian panic might precipitate us beyond recal into a complete or partial re-occupation of a country which has already cost us so much precious blood and treasure. Let us therefore look the facts in the face, and endeavour to form a calm and unbiassed judgment as to how far such a course of action would be either necessary, politic, or justifiable.

44. In 1837, Count Nesselrode, when pressed for an explanation by our Government as to the designs and intentions of Russia in the East, used these remarkable words: "The idea of assailing India has never presented itself, and never will present itself, to the mind of our august master;" and after dwelling on the injustice and difficulties attendant on any such adventurous scheme against a friendly power, he proceeded to say, "A single glance at the map ought to be sufficient to dissipate in this respect all prejudice, and convince every impartial and enlightened man that no hostile design against England can direct the policy of our cabinet in Asia." Now,



although we are at full liberty to hold our own peculiar opinions as to Count Nesselrode's sincerity, there can be no harm in our acting as he suggests so far as to take a "glance at the map;" and there I cannot but think we shall find a great deal to re-assure us. For, in the first place, it shows that our north-western frontier is by nature one of the strongest in the world, being protected along its whole length by the great and rapid river Indus, which would, of course, in case of necessity, be strongly guarded at its few assailable points; whilst, immediately beyond its banks lie the rugged mountains of Afghanistan, only to be penetrated by a few formidable defiles, which we could occupy on very short notice, and safely bid defiance to all comers. The Suliman range runs nearly parallel with the Indus, and its average height is about the same as that of the Pyrenees, the lofty peaks attaining from 6000 to 11,500 feet. To these natural defences may be added those vast desert tracts that border our possessions in Scinde crossed by our army in 1838, and of which I have already given some account; and when, in addition to all these obstacles to the progress of an invading army, we take into consideration the immense facilities at our disposal for concentrating troops and munitions of war by river, road, and railway, at any particular point of attack, of which we must necessarily have ample means of ascertaining sufficiently beforehand to afford ample time for preparation, and the strong British reserves which could so readily be poured in by sea from our various colonies, I cannot bring myself to believe that any Russian general would risk his own and his country's reputation in any such Quixotic adventure. But of this one thing I feel perfectly sure, *viz.* that were such an attempt to be seriously made, not a man of the invading force would be likely to find his way back to Russia. For, let them once get into a serious hobble, with that extensive maze of savage mountains, and the still more savage mountaineers in their rear, and doubtful friends would rapidly be converted into active enemies, whilst the intermediate populations of both Afghanistan and Turkestan would probably rise *en masse* to intercept their supplies and cut off their retreat.

45. But, it may be urged, that Russia might possibly count on the near approach of her army being the signal for a general revolt and rising among our own native soldiers and subjects. If so, I firmly believe she would reckon without her host. The character of Russian rule, as popularly described, has not failed to reach the ears of the inhabitants of India, who are generally very shrewd judges of their own worldly interests; and when the question merely turned on a change of European masters I believe their answer would be somewhat similar to that given by our own Charles II. to his brother James, when the latter remonstrated with the former for heedlessly exposing his life by walking unguarded about the London parks. "Brother," replied the merry monarch, "don't distress yourself! Rest assured that my subjects will never take my life to make you king!"

46. Doubtless there are, among the millions who populate India, many unwise and ignorant bigots, both Mohamedan and Hindoo, to whom a Christian and foreign rule must be distasteful, and numberless reckless and unruly spirits who sigh for the good old times of anarchy and universal plunder, such as existed when we first took the field to repress the marauding Mahrattas who levied black mail throughout the best part of Hindostan, and aimed at its universal conquest. But, on the whole, I believe that India has never been so wisely, unselfishly, and beneficently governed as since our gracious Queen assumed the supreme sway. Never has there been manifested such an earnest and universal desire to do justice to its people, by improving their general condition, by elevating them in the moral and social scale of being, and so preparing the way for their gradual admission to offices of trust and power.

The storm of the great mutiny of 1857 has effected wonders in clearing the political atmosphere, and in giving an impulse to civilization, with its beneficent train of material blessings, such as the natives are fast learning to appreciate, and which can scarce fail to render them more and more contented with our sway. Well may they pause and reflect whether it is likely that Russia, similarly circumstanced and with her well-known antecedents in an opposite direction, either would or could do as much.

47. I have not deemed it necessary on this occasion to enter into details of the recent conquests of Russia in Turkestan. They are too well known to need explanation, and do not affect my general argument. Some of my present hearers will probably enjoy an opportunity of learning much interesting matter regarding the countries and inhabitants of that little-known region from my learned and distinguished

friend, Mr. George Campbell, of Indian celebrity, who is to lecture thereupon in this very room on Wednesday evening next. It cannot, of course, be denied that the Russian progress along the course of the Iaxartes, from the sea of Aral to Tashkhand, and thence to Samarcand, since the Crimean war, and especially during the past two years, has been of a startling, though certainly not of an aggressive character, so far as British India is concerned. A careful study of the map reveals nothing that need make us uneasy in that direction. The conditions of warfare and the capacity of India to resist an invader have materially altered since Timour and Baber obtained their easy triumphs, at the head of rude, undisciplined Tartar hordes. They had no siege guns, with their cumbrous appendages of heavy ordnance-stores, to impede their progress across the long succession of mountain ranges that intervene between Samarcand and Peshawur; and those who venture to predict a successful issue to any modern invading force from that quarter must altogether ignore or undervalue the strength and efficiency of our magnificent army in India, which I believe to be more than a match for the best troops that any country could bring into the field against us.

48. Moreover, the position of the Russian forces, scattered far and wide over Central Asia (and not exceeding 20,000 men of all arms, according to the most recent authentic accounts) must necessarily, for generations to come, be very far from secure, and that insecurity may in itself be considered a reliable safeguard against any such wild enterprises in the direction of Afghanistan as are too readily apprehended by some. Our own evil experience in that country, as previously described, should undoubtedly operate as a still greater caution to the Russians than to ourselves, inasmuch as, in a military point of view, the difficulties to be encountered by us, as its invaders, would be immensely aggravated in their case in proportion to the increased distance from their real basis of operations and their sources of supply, when we consider that the whole line of communications, from their nearest European starting-point to Cabul or Candahar, would be little short of 2000 miles.

49. So long as the Russian hold upon their newly-acquired territory is thus intrinsically weak, we ought surely to be much more the objects of dread to them than they to us, by reason of our firmer footing as lords paramount of India, with the widely-extended influence therefrom accruing, and which, in time of war, we might exercise with crushing effect in arousing a spirit of resistance among the half-subdued and turbulent tribes of Turkestan against their unwelcome invaders. In short, the employment of insurrectionary stimulants to the excitable minds of Oriental subject, is a dangerous game, at which both sides could play, and in which the odds might be greatly in our own favour. But I give the Russians credit for resorting to no such un-neighbourly practices.

50. I believe the world is wide enough for us both, without necessarily treading on each other's toes. So far as the inhabitants of Turkestan are concerned, I consider it is for the real interests of humanity that they should at length be controlled in their evil ways by a master strong enough to keep them in decent order. When I remember the cruel fate of my friends, Charles Stoddart and Arthur Conolly, at the ruthless hands of the tyrant of Bokhara, I feel intensely thankful to the Russians for having given a wholesome lesson to the present ruler of that remote capital—the hot-bed and head-quarters of fanaticism in its fiercest form. Moreover, the legitimate objects of opening out new sources of commerce and its attendant civilized advantages, are sufficiently worthy in themselves to enlist our sympathy as the consistent advocates of human progress; and in no region of the earth have those blessings been heretofore more at a discount than in the savage wilds and among the cruel slave-making Khanats of Central Asia.

51. It would have been easy for me to enlarge this paper, and perhaps thereby add to its interest with some, by launching out into the wide and popular topic of Russia's progress and policy in the East, the dangers supposed to be looming in the future to our Indian Empire from such causes, and the active measures of precaution whereby they should be met and averted. It may perhaps be expected by some of my hearers that I should, at all events, discuss the propriety, or otherwise, of subsidizing the present ruler of Cabul, of establishing a British Envoy or Consul at his court, and of adopting the thousand and one other suggestions which have of late been showered so plentifully upon the Government of India through the medium of the public press. But I have no such intention, being firmly persuaded that the present Governor-General of India will carry out wisely and well, in the spirit if not in the letter, the prudent and enlightened counsels of his great predecessor, who, the British public may

rely upon it, knew perfectly well what he was about, and who would, as we so well know from his antecedents, have been prompt enough to adopt, and carry out to a successful issue the most vigorous measures, had any real necessity presented itself to his mind.

52. My main object in writing this paper has been not so much to lay down oracularly, with a presumption that would be unbecoming in me, as a mere plain-spoken soldier, any particular line of policy to be pursued in regard to Russia's position and proceedings in Central Asia, as to assist, in my humble common-sense way, those public men whose peculiar duty it is to take the lead in such a discussion, by furnishing them with such facts and considerations as past experience have presented to my own mind in connection with this great question, and which some of them may have overlooked or forgotten. There is, however, one point which I would take this opportunity of urging on the notice of Parliament, and that has reference to our political relations with Persia, our near neighbour and ancient ally in India, with whom it behoves us to cultivate the most intimate friendship and goodwill, inasmuch as our interests in the East are so blended together as to be almost inseparable—Persia knows full well that from England's ambition she has nothing whatever to fear; and that from England's power, by sea and by land, she is open to prompt reprisals in case of her committing any signal act of hostility. There is reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding these considerations, our influence, once all-powerful, has of late years been on the wane in that country; and I consider one cause of this is traceable to the fact that, whereas formerly the British embassy in Persia was entrusted to Indian officials well acquainted with the language and customs of the country, it has of late years been monopolized entirely by diplomatists of the English school, who necessarily are often lacking those essential qualifications; and with respect to the subordinate *attaches* in particular, I believe it to be a fact that very few indeed take the trouble or consider it worth their while thus to qualify themselves, simply because the country and its people are distasteful to their European ideas and prejudices, so that their great aim, on being sent there, is to get transferred as speedily as possible to some more amusing and civilized sphere of action. Now it is, on the other hand, quite certain that in our Indian services are always to be found men thoroughly competent to do full credit to such posts, and who would like nothing better than to be placed in such a promising field of usefulness and distinction; and surely, if such be the case, we are acting very unwisely in this matter, and the sooner we return to the old order of things the better will be our prospects of upholding the interests of this country in Persia, which are yearly becoming of greater importance than ever.

53. I will not trespass on your patience further than to explain, in my own behalf, that having been urged by the Council of the "East India Association" to contribute a paper suitable to the purposes for which it was originally constituted, I felt that I ought not to shrink from adding my literary mite to advance the vital interests of that land wherein so large a portion of my life has been spent—a land to which I owe the chance of carving out for myself a career in life, however indifferently I may have taken advantage of my opportunities, and to which I must ever feel largely indebted for whatever blessings in life I now enjoy. To sum up the whole matter in one brief paragraph, I would venture to say to those entrusted with the safety of Her Majesty's Indian dominions, "Look well to the assailable points of the river Indus, and to the mountain-passes immediately beyond. Fortify the former as your most skilful military engineers shall recommend; and, as regards the latter, lose no opportunity of entering into amicable political and pecuniary arrangements with the local chiefs whom it may be necessary to propitiate whenever such active measures may seem desirable by way of precaution. Maintain also as friendly relations as practicable with the rulers and subjects of Afghanistan and Persia. For the rest, it may suffice to bear always in mind those three profound axioms which our old friend "JACOB FARRER" found so applicable to every emergency in life: "What's done can't be helped;" "Better luck next time;" and, above all, "Take it coolly!" Let us act thus, and we may with thorough confidence apply to our position in India the noble and patriotic words of our great national bard:

"This England never shall  
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.  
Come all the corners of the world in arms,  
And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,  
If England to itself do rest but true."

CHAIRMAN.—I am sure you will all agree with me that we ought not to separate without offering our sincere thanks to the author of this paper, for having given us a retrospect of the Affghan war in as lively a manner as if he were still a young subaltern. He has brought before us the history of that memorable war, in which he took so distinguished a part, with all the energy which he would have displayed when he was a young officer. I am delighted that he has terminated his paper in so pacific a manner. The Duke of Wellington's advice was that we should not run heedlessly into wars; and Sir Vincent Eyre has given us on this occasion the very best advice with regard to Affghanistan, that we should not meddle in a country where we really can derive no profit and no glory by interfering with it, and, above all, that we should not rush heedlessly into such a country from an apprehension that at some future time Russia may advance towards this region. (Hear, hear.) I happen to know this, that whilst the present Emperor of Russia is the most pacific of sovereigns, he has recently, through his Prime Minister, given the most solemn assurances to Her Majesty's Government that neither now nor at any time will he attempt to approach Affghanistan, or in any way trouble our frontier at all by involving himself in the interests of Affghanistan. As Sir Vincent Eyre says, people will not look at the map—they will not look at the enormous chains of mountains which separate us from the most advanced posts of the Russians, and they will not look at those insuperable difficulties that present themselves to the passage of any large army. But, though those mountains present those insuperable difficulties to the passage of a large army with artillery, there are several routes over them by which trade can be carried on with great advantage. That is a point to which Sir Henry Rawlinson has called the attention of the Geographical Society; and at the meeting of the Geographical Society on Monday a paper will be communicated, which will point out to those who choose to attend that the tea which is now cultivated in the north-west of India has been transported into the district of the Arcand—into Eastern Turkestan, a country entirely distinct from Western Turkestan which the Russians have occupied. This Eastern Turkestan, which formerly belonged to China, is now an independent kingdom, under a chief called Kush Beju. That great region no Russian soldier has entered; and I hope that will remain a great region for traffic with us through the passes of the Himalayas; that we shall extend our tea to it for years to come, and that that traffic will become a source of great profit to us. There is room enough for both of us, as Sir Vincent says; and with those chains of mountains between us, I hope we shall long continue good allies, and that the prosperity of India will never be disturbed by an invasion by Russia.

## APPENDIX.

THE map shows the new boundary lines of Russia since her recent conquests in Turkestan. Her approaches to that country in the direction of Kokan have been slowly and surely in course of progress during a long succession of years, and from two different quarters at once, viz. from Semipolatsinsk in the N.E., and from Orenburg in the N.W.

The former is the chief fortified town of a provincial government of the same name in Western Siberia, from which starting point a line of military posts has been pushed gradually across the Kirghiz Steppes, inhabited by the "Great Horde," and, skirting the east of Lake Balkash, has been extended thence in the direction of Lake Issyk-kul to the south-west, *viâ* Almati (Fort Vernoe), Kastek, Tokmak, and Auleata, up to the base of the lofty mountains of Kokan.

From Orenburg the Russians have advanced by way of Orsk to the north end of the Sea of Aral, whence their course has lain along the right bank of the Syr-Daria (or Jaxartes) river, by forts Perovski, Djulek, and the city of Turkestan to Chienkend, at which stronghold their two converging lines were at length, for the first time, connected in 1864; thus completing the long circuitous chain of military posts from Semi-polatsinsk to Orenburg, through the heart of Western Turkestan.

They have since followed up these successes by the capture and occupation of Taskkend and Samarcand in 1868; and have established a strong military outpost 50 miles to the west of the latter city, and within 150 miles eastward of the capital of Bokhara, with the object of overawing that place. These systematic extensions of the Russian power among the unsettled and turbulent tribes of Central Asia have been in a great measure justified by the necessity of extending and protecting commercial intercourse with neighbouring nations; and the plan so pertinaciously and successfully pursued of planting themselves firmly on each new acquisition by means of compact military settlements, with strongly fortified posts, before taking another step in advance, was the only secure method of penetrating so far from the bounds of civilization, across those vast wild and desolate tracts, peopled chiefly by wandering semi-barbarous and predatory races, with any chance of permanent mutual benefit resulting. Wherever they thus forced their way, trade invariably followed close upon their track, although now, for the first time, they seem in a fair way to realize a reward at all proportionate to the toils and perils they have so perseveringly encountered.

The treaty of peace lately concluded between Russia and Bokhara enables the former to establish mercantile agents in all the towns of the latter, and entitles them to the protection of the ruling powers; it stipulates that the duty on Russian imported goods shall not exceed 2½ per cent., and that Russian merchants shall be free to cross Bokhara on their way to neighbouring principalities. With these advantages secured, and with the increased protection to life and property which the continued presence of a dominant civilized power cannot fail to realize, it may be confidently expected (and we English should rejoice in the expectation) that the long dormant, though fertile resources of Bokhara, Samarcand, Kokan, and neighbouring states will be rapidly developed, and therewithal open out new fields for enterprise and new triumphs for civilization.

To suppose that the present position of Russia in Turkestan, as here described, and which is maintained only by what may be likened to a long chain of military police-stations, extending over mountains and deserts wholly unfitted for the passage of large armies, can really threaten the security of the British empire in India is an incomprehensible delusion, utterly unfounded in fact and almost an insult to common sense.

These remarks apply, of course, only to the existing state of things. It is im-

possible for any one to predict what may happen hereafter. Russia may possibly, and most probably does, envy us the possession of India; but the way to its conquest does not lie over the Kirghiz Steppes, nor through Toorkman deserts; neither do I know of any other route that would be easy of access without an amount of delay, danger, and expense such as would probably overtax alike the military and pecuniary resources even of Russia. Hence I do not think we shall have very much ground for alarm, even should intelligence reach us of her steamers attaining the highest navigable points of the Oxus and Jaxartes. It seems, indeed, inevitable that they should do so, and one may be pardoned for thinking the sooner the better for the best interests of Central Asia, and perhaps even of British India itself.

A reference to the map shows two lines whereby alone an advance on British India is possible from the present Russian position in Turkestan:—

1st. By Kokan, Kashgur, and Yarkand, on Leh and Cashmere. This line crosses the lofty Tian-Shan range by the Terek pass, used by caravans; thence it passes over the high table-land called the "Country of the Six Cities" (including Kaslgar and Yarkand), known also as "Little Bokhara;" after this it traverses the great Kuen-Lun and Karakorum ranges by two passes upwards of 18,000 feet high, leading into Cashmere; beyond which India is at length reached by crossing a portion of the vast Himalayah chain.

2nd. By Bokhara and Balkh, and thence by the difficult mountain roads of Kunduz, the route must cross the Great Hindoo Khoosh, 17,000 feet high; and so onward, by a long and intricate succession of dangerous passes, to Cabul and Peshawur—the total distance from the new Russian to the British Indian boundary being about 1200 miles if measured from Chienkent, or about 800 miles if measured from Samar-cand.

Neither of these routes can be supposed to offer any temptation for the invasion of India, occupied and defended as it now is by one of the most powerful and efficient armies in the world, in possession of all the strongest posts, and with ample reserves of men and stores within easy reach. To attack a country so situated with any chance of success, an overwhelming force would be necessary, accompanied by heavy artillery, and with supports and arsenals within moderate distance in its rear. But it has been well said by an able writer in the 'Edinburgh Review,' when referring to the difficulty of conducting military operations in Affghanistan: "Take a small force, and you are beaten; take a large one, and you are starved." The stern lesson enforced by the Russians on the great Napoleon at Moscow will scarcely be lost upon themselves. Affghanistan is the great breakwater established by nature against an inundation of northern forces in these times.

Lord Napier's success in surmounting the physical difficulties of Abyssinia furnishes no practical solution of the question, inasmuch as his march was unopposed; but the small bill of nine millions sterling which accrued, notwithstanding this favourable circumstance, ought to operate as a caution to rulers who may be ambitious of invading the north-west frontier of India by even the easiest route available.

With regard to any assistance that an invading foe might anticipate from the populations of India, it may suffice to recur to the formidable Sikh invasion of 1845-46, and our subsequent desperate struggles with that nation in 1848-49, which offered such favourable opportunities to our native subjects for revolt, had any such disposition been widely prevalent; yet even with such tempting opportunities, they remained perfectly quiescent. No stronger proof could be required that, for the mere alternative of a change of masters (and that a change for the worse), an insurrectionary movement, as an aid to invasion, would be a very unwise and unsafe dependence.

With respect to the barrier offered by the Suliman range, it has been argued that private traders are in the habit of penetrating it with great ease by a variety of routes, and that therefore the difficulties for the passage of an army might not be so great as generally supposed. But the same might be said of the Pyrenees, through which at least fifty bridle roads lead from France to Spain, and yet we know that but two practicable roads exist for the safe transit of large armies.

The good understanding now so happily existing between the Indian Government and the ruler of Affghanistan affords an excellent opportunity for placing our frontier relations with the local chiefs, in possession of the passes bordering on the river Indus, on a sounder footing, whereby we should be enabled to command them more readily in case of need.

I have purposely kept out of prominent view in this discussion the (geographically speaking) more facile route to India by way of the Caspian Sea, and thence through Persia to Herat, Candahar, and the Bolan Pass, the fear of which in 1838 occasioned the Affghan war, as already described. In 1856 Persia was severely punished for a renewed attempt to gain possession of Herat, and has since been bound fast by treaty to respect its independence.

So long as Russian activity is confined, as at present, to Western Turkestan, we have no real ground for alarm; but should she ever show unmistakable indications of aggressive intentions in the direction of Persia and Herat, it may serve as a fresh stimulus for us to strengthen that double line of barrier which is so fortunately within our grasp in the Suliman range and in the river Indus behind it, and there calmly and fearlessly await the foe, should he really undertake so vast and so perilous an expedition. Happy shall we then be, if, in addition to our physical resources of strength, we are reinforced by a third *moral* barrier behind us—of a loyal and contented people!

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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING, HELD AT BOMBAY, WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1869.

DOSSABHOY FRAMJEE, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

*Lecture on the Work of the East India Association.*

A MEETING was held at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, Bombay, to hear a lecture in English of Professor Dadabhai Naoroji on the objects and work of the East India Association of London. The Institute was crowded to excess, both in the area and in the galleries. Mr. Dadabhai had already lectured on the subject in Guzerate on three previous evenings; and this lecture in English was, we believe, delivered in deference to the wish of many educated natives. Our well-known citizen, Mr. Dossabhoj Framjee, was, amidst loud applause, called to preside on the occasion; and, in a short address, appropriate to the occasion, introduced Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to the meeting.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI said:—

Gentlemen,—I thought it was hardly necessary for me to give a lecture in English. Some of my friends thought otherwise, and the wisdom of their advice is proved by the large attendance. I feel much gratified and honoured at the audience before me. The East India Association, as you may be aware, is established with the object of promoting the welfare of India. It works under certain advantages and certain difficulties. The advantages are almost all English, the difficulties almost all Indian. The Association works with the conviction that, however long they may have to struggle, the English public and the Home Government of India will ultimately side with justice. It is a peculiar trait in the English national character that when once a case is made out beyond all doubt, and the public is convinced as to what justice and righteousness demand from them, nothing whatever, no consideration of any kind, would stop them from doing what is right. Like the lion—a very appropriate symbol of English character—the English public is difficult to be roused, but when once roused no obstacle can stop it. (Applause.) What more glorious instance can we have than their conduct with regard to slavery? The struggle of the philanthropists was no doubt hard and long, but once the English public was satisfied that slavery should not be, and that they should free themselves from that dire sin, they prepared themselves to pay any price. Neither money nor anything else could stop them. They paid 20 millions to the slaveholders, and did the noblest act human kind is capable of. All that is necessary is to make out a good case. The instinct for fair play and justice is so strong in the English heart, from the playground to the grave, that when once you satisfy the English mind of the justice of your cause, its conscience will revolt from any other course. The Englishman is incapable of despotism. He may and often does carry things with a high hand, he may act the despot for a time, but the instinct and love of liberty, the constitutionalism which is born with and ingrained in him, makes him at the time of trial, recoil from being stigmatised a despot. (After a few similar observations, Mr. Dadabhai continued.) The East India Association has commenced its work under such conviction, that if it would only stick to justice, fair play, and truth, it is sure to succeed with English rulers in all their efforts to raise India. (Applause.) They also believed that independently of the national instinct of fair play, many of the retired Indian officials, and the Home Government itself were desirous and willing to do what is right and just, and calculated to promote the welfare of India, and the permanency of the British rule. That such was the case was soon evident from the number of European officials and non-officials who willingly and readily joined the Association. And the Association had not long to wait for a still more satisfactory proof of the conviction with which they

commenced their work. Their efforts for the admission of Natives into the Civil Service found all proper attention from the authorities. Though the result has not been exactly in the form in which they prayed for, it is clear that judicious and proper representations of a just cause will receive due consideration. One part of the prayer, the institution of scholarships, has been fully granted, the other prayer for the admission into the Civil Service has been proposed to be granted in a way that appears most suitable to the authorities themselves. Now while the discussion of this important subject was going on in the Association, it was quite evident that many Indian officials were desirous to help the Natives in their just demands. Sir Herbert Edwardes took a very active part. In his death India has lost a true and sincere friend and England a true patriot. You are aware that to a letter addressed by me to a number of retired high Indian officials, the response was prompt and bold. What was I that these gentlemen should condescend to reply to me? but it was their desire to see justice done, and Natives helped as they may deserve, and when the opportunity came to speak their mind, they spoke without shrinking. The press also, as representing public opinion, spoke out openly and fairly, and lastly, any one who was present at the debates on Mr. Fawcett's motion, and on the 2nd reading of the Governor-General of India's bill last year in Parliament, must have observed the feeling of the members that whatever was right should be done. Such, then, are the good auspices under which the Association works, and they are all English. But it has, as I have already said, its difficulties—neither the Native nor European interests of India have given them such support as they ought. Out of a population of 200 millions, for whose benefit this Association works, how many natives are members? Only, I am ashamed to say, about 400. I do not wish to blame the natives for what thus appears to be great apathy and want of patriotism on their part. I allow that this apathy is owing to a want of knowledge. They are not yet well informed as to the importance of the existence of such an Association. This work of explaining to the mass, or at least to a reasonable portion of the people, their good, is the duty of the educated; they are bound both by patriotism as well as gratitude to do this work; their education has been mainly obtained at the expense of the State, that is from the taxes paid by the people, and they must return the obligation to the utmost extent of their power. They must explain what a British subject ought to be; how good the British rule is; what hopes there are of the amelioration of the country, political, social, or intellectual, at the hands of their rulers, and that as head-power is situated in England, how necessary it is that a body should be there, willing and ready to work on their behalf, and to obtain for them all those privileges which it is the boast and the birthright of the "British subject" to enjoy. Many of us are anxious that we should have Representative Institutions, a Parliament in India. This is our chief aim, this is the goal to which we must all work to. But can we say that we are at present prepared for such institutions? Can we say that any large portion, or even a reasonable portion of the Natives, even understand what representation is? Is it not necessary for us, especially the educated, to set ourselves to work to educate the people in this important matter? While doing this on the one hand, of preparing a public opinion, a public voice, and a body of public men, is it not necessary that in England a Society should exist, who should have by their judicious and proper advocacy, by the weight and influence of their conduct, acquired an influence so as to be prepared, when wanted, to fight the last and greatest battle of representation in or for India? That body will have also helped us for all the intermediate steps towards that consummation. Whether therefore we look to the future or the present, we see the great necessity and duty of strengthening in every possible way the East India Association. The authorities in India, even if they had the will to do anything, have not the power. All the great fights must take place in England. Whatever is done by Parliament can be altered by Parliament only, and all the great questions of policy will be settled there. If all this is made clear to the Native of India, there is no reason why we may not expect Natives members by thousands instead of by hundreds. I have no doubt that if the educated Natives do their duty there is every reason to be hopeful of the future of India. (Applause.) Not only should the Association be supplied with pecuniary aid, but also with the moral support of the voice of the people, and by correct information from time to time, in the shape of papers of the thousand and one important Indian subjects, in all their bearings. (After a few other earnest remarks in the same strain Mr. Dadabhai proceeded.)

The reason why Europeans in India have been backward in supporting this Association is, I think, a misapprehension. It is perhaps supposed that this Association is only a Native affair, and with Native interests alone in view. Now it is nothing of the kind. It is established with the expressed purpose of promoting *all* Indian interests, European or Native. The only qualification necessary is that the cause should be just. It allows papers to be read on subjects bearing upon every Indian interest, and of all sides. It takes no party views. It is the best means of discussing every subject from all points of view. Hitherto the information supplied in England has been mostly official. Several members of Parliament have expressed the desire that they should get outside information, as they cannot altogether rely upon information furnished by the authorities, as naturally these authorities have their own views of questions. By means of this Association you get free and full outside information. Various discussions take place here in the English newspapers connected with the different English services and other interests, but the journal of the East India Association will enable the opposing parties to lay their views fully in the shape of papers before the Home Authorities and the English public. The very origin of the East India Association is from English interests. It is in reality a development of the Indian Army Committee combined with the London Indian Society, and its very first practical act was a deputation to Sir Stafford Northcote with regard to the order of the Government of India on the bonus compensation despatch of Lord Cranborne. A paper has been read on Furlough Regulations of the Indian Army, and another on the capabilities of the Hill Ranges of India. The planters of Wynaad having understood it to be their interest to support the East India Association, have joined it in the name of the President and Secretary of their Association. When the address to Sir Bartle Frere was left in the hands of this Association, natives and Europeans all joined heart and soul in honouring one who was considered deserving of honour, without any thought whether he was a European or not. (Applause.) The last mail brought news of the Imperial question about Central Asia having been discussed at a large meeting. It was discussed mostly from the British point of view, the only mention made of the Natives being that they understood their interests and would not prefer Russian to English rule. You will see, therefore, that the East India Association is to work as much or even better for European interests than Native. I say better, because in every Native question, the Europeans have more or less to depend for information upon the Native members, and, moreover, the Native element of members residing in England will not be strong; while in questions of the interest of European services or other residents, the English members are at home, having been themselves in the services or independent careers, and while, in the case of the Natives, they can be moved only by motives of philanthropy, in the other case they have all the motives of patriotism, friendship, self-interest to actuate them. The European portion of the Indian communities have every reason to give their best support to the East India Association. But I appeal to a higher motive than that of self-interest. The Europeans come from a distant land to rule over this vast country, and to raise up its teeming millions in the scale of civilization. In the name of this great mission I ask them to help us, to hold out to us their hand of good fellowship, and raise us to their own good lot of high civilization, enlightenment, and political elevation. (Applause.) I hope that while on the one hand we have all to congratulate ourselves on the good "English" auspices under which the Association works, the Indian difficulties of want of adequate moral and pecuniary support from India, both European and Native, will be removed. In connection with the good auspices, I am afraid of only one possible drawback, that the English rulers may treat India in the same way as England. In England the rulers know the people and the people know their rulers, and both are of the same country. In the case of any serious dissatisfaction among the people, the worst consequences are the overthrow of a cabinet, or, at most, a revolution; the rulers after all remain of the country and in the country. In the case of India the rulers are foreigners. The people as yet know not much about the rulers, and the rulers notwithstanding their desire and endeavours do not yet know much of the inward workings of the mind of the people. Any serious dissatisfaction here leads to disastrous consequences. The drawback, I fear, then is that the rulers may sometimes hold out a little too long in making a concession, and thus deprive the gift of its good grace and its effect upon the gratitude of the people. In such state of affairs, it will be safer to err in making a concession a little too early

than too late. The earlier concession is regarded as a boon, received thankfully,—and remembered gratefully. It may be said the press in England will do all that is necessary. But we must remember that it has the affairs of its own country to attend to. That it does favour India with some attention is matter for congratulation, but it cannot do the work of continuous advocacy of a nation distant some thousands of miles. We want a body who would give special attention to Indian subjects, who can lay before the public correct and well-arranged information, and who would be ready on the spot to watch every movement and put in the word at the proper time. This ready-at-hand and watchful work cannot be expected from the English press, nor from the Indian press or associations. A body like the East India Association is an absolute necessity. There is one indirect result likely to flow from this Association of very great importance. The working together of Europeans and Natives for the just interests of either will naturally create a sympathy and kindly feeling between them. When the Natives find Europeans heartily helping them, as in the instance of the Civil Service, it is only natural that their attachment should increase, and so when Natives come forward to join in any European cause, the sympathy of the Europeans should become deeper. This is a very desirable result, and every well-wisher of India and England would do well to promote it. (Applause.) In connection with this result I may say a few words about a subject upon which much unnecessary and unpleasant discussion is going on. Some of the English writers don't like the word "tribute." They would have us to say that the rulers receive no such thing. Well, we need not quarrel about words. Let us know the actual fact, that by the possession of India by England, an annual addition of about ten millions sterling takes place to the national wealth of England. Is this fact or not? It is quite true that it is a remuneration for service done. The sting in the minds of some Englishmen, I think, of this fact lies in the impression that the Natives complain of this. Far from it. It will be absurd for the Natives to expect that Englishmen should be so quixotic as to come here and give us the benefits of their services to introduce order, law, and enlightenment, and eat their own bread. That the ten millions go out of the country cannot be helped. It is an incident of a foreign rule. But if that rule is a necessity for us, and the only means of our regeneration, we are thankful to have the blessing at any price. I for one say that, far from complaining for this addition to the wealth of England, I would only be too glad to see the benefit to that country still increase. I only ask our English rulers to be true to themselves, to follow their instincts of justice and fair play, to make the Natives real "British subjects," and to develop the resources of the country, so that while they may add 20 or 30 millions to their own wealth, there may be a corresponding addition made to the prosperity of this country. (Applause.) There is every likelihood that the benefit to England must increase. When large portions of the people are educated, when prosperity shall increase, and will demand larger numbers for administration than at present, the expenses will be increased. If, on the other hand, the prosperity of the country will enable it to pay greater revenues, the additional expenditure and therefore corresponding additional benefit to England will not be grudged, but rather thankfully paid. Be good stewards, and take as you deserve, we shall be the better and the more grateful for it. I do not see any necessity of unnecessary misunderstanding and discussion of this point. The truth is that both India and England are benefited by their connection, and it is better that that should be clearly recognized by both. I am desirous that a permanent fund should be raised for the support of this East India Association. If the educated natives will be up and doing, I do not despair of success. The people, when informed, will take an interest, and when we look at the vast population, what is three or four lacs of rupees? We have hitherto been in the habit of depending and throwing the whole burden upon the rich. The rich of Bombay have at times done their part nobly, as we well know. Let us, the middle class, do our duty also—let us bear our own share of the burden. It is of no consequence whether the donation is one rupee or thousands. Let each give as he can. In England large charities and other institutions are supported by small subscriptions and donations. In London alone, the charities thus supported amount to some millions every year, and what is the population of England compared with that of India? As the mountain cannot come to us, we must go to the mountain. We must approach the people. For this purpose I propose to call a meeting, on Monday, the 17th instant, at 5 P.M., of the members of the Association resident in Bombay, and other gentlemen who take an

interest in the welfare of India, to consider and adopt some practical plan, to arrange for continued efforts to secure adequate support for the Association, and to keep up the interest of the people generally in its behalf and in political matters. The Bombay Association is a body confined to native interests. The object of the East India Association is much wider—promotion by legitimate means of *all* Indian interests. It is necessary, therefore, that a separate body should be formed here in the spirit and scope of the London body. I invite all educated natives to attend this meeting, and to take a share in the work. I am glad to know that Mr. Vishnoo Parashram is going to give a lecture in Marathi, on Saturday next, at this place. I take this opportunity of thanking the press of Bombay for the encouraging support they have given me all along. The 'Bombay Summachar' has, I am glad, published my Gujarati lectures. I may urge here the importance of the 'Journal of the Association.' It is its strong arm, and everything should be done to increase its circulation by printing a larger number than 1500, and its usefulness by supplying well-considered papers on Indian subjects. I may inform you that the subscription and donation lists are now lying on the table. I now once more appeal to the patriotism of the people generally, and to the patriotism and gratitude of the educated natives, to stir themselves, to learn what it is to be British subjects, and to do all they can to support an Association so absolutely necessary for securing their best interests. If you fail to do your duty, I can only mourn over the misfortunes of India. It will be no fault of our rulers if we do not show and satisfy them that we deserve to be treated better than we are. (Loud applause.)

MR. DADABHAI subsequently, on a request being made, explained the way in which any bodies or associations can join the East India Association. He read a resolution of that Association:—"If the members of an Association do not exceed 25, the life subscription of each member be Rs. 75, the annual subscription Rs. 7. 8 annas; if exceeding 25 and under 50, life members to pay Rs. 50, annual subscriptions Rs. 5; if exceeding 50, life members to pay Rs. 25, annual subscriptions Rs. 2. 8 annas; on the condition that all the members of such association become members of the East India Association, or that the chairman for the time being of each local association shall become a member on payment of 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ ." Mr. Dadabhai expressed an earnest hope that all associations and societies in India would join the East India Association, and co-operate with it as invited in the Rule XX. The annual subscription of an ordinary member of the Association is Rs. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ , including the Journal; life subscription is Rs. 100; and the Journal Rs. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  annually.

Gentlemen willing to join, or give donations, are requested to send in their names to Mr. Ardaseer Framjee Moco, Apollo House, or to the Librarian of the Native General Library, or to Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, at the Bombay Association Rooms, Elphinstone Circle, or to the Duffur Ashkara Press.

At the conclusion of the lecture, the chairman invited remarks from any gentlemen who wished to speak on the subject, saying that the meeting would be glad to hear them.

MR. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE said he was glad to find so large and respectable an audience of the educated natives of Bombay taking an interest in the important subject so ably brought to their notice by their patriotic fellow-citizen, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who had taken an active part in establishing and conducting that powerful body, the East India Association, for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion of the interests and welfare of India. Mr. Nowrozjee was present in England when the Association was organized, and could from personal knowledge testify to its influence and its capacity to do a vast amount of good to India. He ventured to request Mr. Dadabhai to deliver another address, and more fully explain the doings of the Association to the native public in general, and the educated class in particular, whose duty it was to assist in promoting the welfare of their country and improving their political condition. This able exponent and zealous member of the Association would not only enlighten but convince his countrymen regarding the necessity of strengthening the hands of that body and placing it on a firm basis. By his timely and judicious advocacy of the cause of the natives in England, Mr. Dadabhai had conferred a great obligation on his fellow-countrymen, who would, Mr. Nowrozjee sincerely hoped, appreciate his services and act on his recommendation.

RAO SAHEB V. N. MANDLIK followed, and, after a few observations on the subject of the lecture, remarked that the only way in which, it seemed to him, the educated classes could repay Sir Erskine Perry's friend, the Bengal ryot, at whose expense

the whole educational machinery in India was conducted, was to follow the advice of Mr. Dadabhai in directing their efforts to the amelioration of the condition of the natives of the country.

The CHAIRMAN then rose, and in an eloquent speech moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for his able and interesting lecture that evening. Mr. Dossabhoy said that he went to the meeting as a listener and to acquire information, but he had not the least idea that he would be called upon to preside at that large and influential meeting. He would, however, try to do his best in performing the task which the meeting had entrusted him with. (Applause.) It was a task which was at the same time both easy and difficult. It was easy, because it did not require any effort on his part to convince his hearers that Mr. Dadabhai required to be thanked, when every one knew so well how thankful they were to him. (Applause.) But it was a difficult task to thank him, because he felt unable to find words wherewith to thank Mr. Dadabhai adequately for his eloquent discourse which they had all heard with breathless attention. (Applause.) Mr. Dossabhoy then made a few observations on some of the prominent points of the lecturer's discourse, and showed how the working and efforts of the East India Association had resulted in many benefits to both the Europeans and the natives of this country. He alluded to the famous resolution of the Government of India which would afford facilities to the natives of this country to prepare themselves and compete in England for appointments in the Civil Service, or to fit themselves for following a liberal profession. He also adverted to the Bill introduced in the House of Lords by His Grace the Duke of Argyll for the admission of natives to posts hitherto held by the Covenanted Civil Servants, and said that for these and other concessions they were in a great measure indebted to the labours of the East India Association, of which their friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was so active and energetic a member. (Applause.) After the few other observations on the subject of the lecture, the Chairman advised every one who wished to do good to his country to follow in Mr. Dadabhai's footsteps. His sound sense and good temper were displayed in everything that he undertook. (Applause.) His was the sort of advocacy which would secure more and greater rights for their country than would be gained by one-sided and violent speeches. (Applause.) They should never be unmindful of the benefits they had received from the British Government. (Applause.) But if they thought they were wrong they should go up to Government in a loyal, respectful, and proper manner, and continue to do so until they had their redress; and the high sense of justice for which the English Government and the English nation were so remarkable, and to which his friend Mr. Dadabhai had paid a just and well merited tribute, would not fail them. (Applause.) The chairman then said that he had known Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the last twenty years, and gave a hurried sketch of his labours in the cause of social and other reforms during that long period. He was emphatically the "people's friend." Most of Mr. Dadabhai's friends would remember the bright expectations that had been formed of the good likely to accrue to the people of India by his presence in England. How far those expectations had been realized was very well known to them, and he (the chairman) would not detain them long in proving to them the high claims which Mr. Dadabhai had upon their consideration and gratitude. (Applause.) Mr. Dossabhoy would not have noticed a subject at that public meeting in the presence of his friend Mr. Dadabhai, had he not seen notices of it in the public prints. There was in the native community a general desire to do something to honour publicly Mr. Dadabhai for his self-imposed and disinterested labours, and he sincerely hoped that some active steps would soon be taken to give shape and substance to that desire. (Applause.) The chairman also hoped that the interest created in Bombay on behalf of the East India Association would continue and not be allowed to flag after he (Mr. Dadabhai) had left these shores for England; and concluded his observations by proposing that the warmest thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for his able and interesting lecture. "The motion was carried by acclamation.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI having returned thanks, the meeting dispersed.

## REPORT

*Of a Meeting called for the consideration of the Desirability of forming a  
Bombay Branch of the East India Association.*

A LARGE and influential meeting of all classes of the Indian community was held at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute on Saturday, the 22nd of May, 1869, at half-past five o'clock P.M. On the motion of Framjee Nusserwanjee Patell, Esq., seconded by Venayakrao Juggonathjee Sunkersett, Esq., Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said:—"Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in assenting to the request made to me to preside at this meeting, for I consider the work to be inaugurated to-day a very important one. (Applause.) The East India Association has, as you are well aware, already done much good work, and I have no reason to doubt that it will continue its career of usefulness for a long time to come. (Applause.) Branches of this Association, constituted as influentially as possible, and vigorously worked, are greatly to be desired in India, as all Indian questions of any importance—imperial or otherwise—being ultimately decided by the Secretary of State for India in Council, or by the Imperial Parliament, it is necessary in the discussion of all such questions that full and accurate information concerning them be at hand; and such information the Association endeavours, by means of its journal, to supply, hoping that by this means the English public and legislature will be enabled to arrive at just decisions upon such questions.

"We know well that, under British rule, India is being inspired with new life, and that she hopefully looks forward to a happy future; that perfect liberty is allowed us to represent in a constitutional and becoming manner all our wants and aspirations, and that whenever we are able to convince the authorities of the justice and reasonableness of any measure for our welfare, we may fairly expect its adoption. (Applause.) To obtain fully the benefits of such a rule of liberty and justice, it is evidently necessary that we should have a body in England to represent what we require in the proper quarters, and this the East India Association is eminently adapted to do. An association promising to be of such great usefulness, deserves the utmost support of the inhabitants of India. It labours for their good, and it is their plain duty to do all in their power to help it, both with funds and correct information. I feel confident that as the knowledge of the importance of this Association spreads, they will come forward and do their duty to carry out these objects, viz. raising funds and furnishing correct information to the Association, and also keeping the Indian public informed from time to time of the doings of the Association, and of Indian politics generally: but to do this efficiently some organized efforts are necessary. I understand that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has called this meeting to lay before it certain proposals, whereby the efforts made may be made most effectually. I therefore ask Mr. Dadabhai to state to the meeting what he intends to propose. (Applause.)

"Though the President and Vice-Presidents will, I understand, not have much to do with the working of the Managing Committee, I sincerely hope and trust that the work to be commenced to-day may be carried on wisely and harmoniously, with tact, judgment, and discretion." (Loud applause.)

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI then addressed the meeting as follows:—"Gentlemen, I have taken the liberty of calling together here, this evening, the members and other friends of the East India Association, to lay before them a proposition for the organization of a body in Bombay destined to further the aims and objects of the East India Association. I am not going to say, gentlemen, anything about the importance of the Association itself on this occasion; but I shall immediately proceed to lay my proposals before you at once. When you suggest the necessity of forming a branch of the East India Association here, it is naturally asked why this should be done, instead of the



Bombay Association, which already exists, being asked to undertake whatever additional work there may be. I beg to submit to the meeting that there are many important objections to that course. The Bombay Association has naturally arisen from and supplied a particular want; it is intended to be a representation of the pure native view of all important Indian questions. The East India Association, on the contrary, tries to represent *all* Indian interests. (Applause.) I think it were very unwise on the part of the Bombay Association to change its present character and introduce any new elements of disturbance. If the Bombay Association made any alterations in its present constitution, it would be of no use in case the Government wanted to know pure native views and sentiments on any question. Again, suppose the Bombay Association is actively engaged on the consideration of some urgent matter, and at the same time the East India Association asks it to undertake for it another matter equally urgent, which master is the Bombay Association then to serve first, itself or the London body? Again, if the Bombay Association becomes closely connected with the East India Association, whenever they happen to differ in their views they are sure to stultify each other. But if the two Associations remained independent, their co-operation in any case would be so much additional strength to each other; and, in the case of difference of views, no harm would be done, but the views of both the independent bodies would be put before the public to be judged of according to their merits. The Bombay Association, by making any alterations in its present constitution, will only become a patched machinery which cannot work efficiently, and which will suffer the double loss of sacrificing its present usefulness without obtaining any corresponding gain. If a proposition were made to the Bombay Association to adapt itself to the work I am proposing to be done, I as one of its members should certainly vote against it. The Association has plenty of its own work to do, and, in describing the objects of the proposed Branch, I shall show that the two bodies cannot at all cross each other. But I need not trouble you now with a long catalogue of such objections, as I have the satisfaction of stating to you that almost all the leading members of the Bombay Association have readily expressed their willingness to join this Branch. (Applause.) There is not the slightest feeling of jealousy or rivalry in any quarter. I certainly should not for a moment take this step from any such feeling. I wish success to the Bombay Association as much as anybody can. (Applause.) Moreover, I am assured that the Bombay Association will be very happy to co-operate with and help this Branch as much as lay in its power. This Branch is to be worked at as little expense as possible. It has to dispense with hired rooms or hired services, except what may be absolutely necessary. I am hopeful that if the Bombay Association is applied to for the use of its rooms, the request will be readily granted. However, if, after the experience of a year or so, it be thought that a combination of the two societies would be productive of greater good, there could be no difficulty in making the requisite changes. This movement is not inaugurated from any motives of self-glorification. The only object is to do a certain work for the good of our country, and whatever may prove to be the best means are to be adopted. I shall now explain to the meeting the object for which it is desirable that this Branch should be formed. The principal objects are, to collect sufficient funds for placing the East India Association on a secure foundation, to supply it with information, and to communicate a knowledge of its work and information on Indian politics generally to the people here, and to act generally as its agents. It will be thus seen that the Branch is not to take any practical action here on any subject whatever. It is not to memorialize or complain directly about any grievances here. That, as far as the natives are concerned, is the province of the Bombay Association. This Branch, in fact, is simply to be a messenger between the East India Association and the people here. By sending papers or information in any other shape from here it will carry the message of the people to the East India Association; and by translating papers or abstracts from the journal of the Association, or by means of lectures, it will convey the message of the Association to the people here. (Applause.) Its Managing Committee will be simply a subordinate Committee to the Council of the parent Association, located in Bombay instead of in London. It cannot therefore in any way, as I have already said, cross with the Bombay Association. Both will have plenty of its own work to do. The constitution and rules of the Bombay Branch, I propose, should be as much as possible a copy of those of the parent society, so that we may be able to act in perfect harmony with each other. I propose that the Bombay Branch should, like the London body, consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, and a Managing Committee; the current work to be done

by the Managing Committee just as the Council is the working body in London. With regard to the permanent fund, which I am so anxious to raise, and which will be one of the chief objects towards which the Committee will devote its first efforts, questions naturally arise, or rather have been actually put to me, as to its due application. I can assure the meeting that I have every confidence that the London Council will be ready to make all proper provisions in concert with the Committee of the Branch for the purpose. The Committee after it is formed can take this matter into their consideration. The prospect of raising the fund seems to me promising, if we only make up our minds to do our best. Since the 24th ultimo, when I gave my second Guzeratee lecture, I think about 150 new members have joined the Association, and a good sum subscribed, by way of donations, through the exertions of several friends. (Applause.) Now, the other day, Dr. Rustomjee N. Khory suggested to me that he and his fellow-graduates should circulate subscription lists among all their friends, in fact, to go to the people if the people won't come to us. I very thankfully received the suggestion, and I am glad to say much good work has been already done by these kind friends. There is another incident which has occurred, very encouraging, and very interesting. A compositor of the 'Indu Prakash,' Waman Bhaskar, made up his mind to do what he could for the Association. He called a meeting of his brother compositors, and collected a sum of 50 rupees. He then goes to Alibag and collects some 60 or 70 rupees more, and now intends to call another meeting here again. (Applause.) A great part of this subscription is made up of quarter and half rupees and such other small sums. (Applause.) Now this shows that if we resolve to push on this work, and we all work as we ought to do, a fund of 2 or 3 lacs is no very great impossibility. Now that a regular body is to be organized for this purpose, it is only due to those who have hitherto worked privately, actuated by nothing else except their patriotic feelings simply, that I should publicly acknowledge their assistance. Mr. Ardesahir Framjee Moos has all this time been the principal agent of the Association in Bombay, and has really been a host in himself. (Applause.) And I can assure the meeting that his work has been no easy one. The proprietors of the 'Indu Prakash' have sent me a good many more, I think, than a hundred names; my friends Rao Sahib V. N. Nundlik, and Messrs. Naorojee Furdoonjee, Kaikhusras Kabra, Sorabjee Mody, and several others whom I cannot call to mind just now, have more or less assisted us in the same way. In Poona, Mr. Venayek Gangadhar Shastri and his son have exerted themselves a good deal. From Calcutta, Mr. J. M. Tagore and Pundit Vidyasagar have sent each about forty names to us. To all those whom I have just named and several others whom I fail in recollecting just now, I offer my sincere thanks on behalf of myself and also, I venture to say, on behalf of the Council in London. As I am a stranger to the state of society here at present, I have consulted a number of friends about the proposals I have laid before you, and they are the result of the views entertained by the majority of them. As my movements are uncertain, and I don't know how long I may be able to stop in Bombay, I am obliged to work in some hurry. This is, indeed, a bad time of the year to form a Committee. Many gentlemen are out of town. I have not, therefore, been able to complete my communications with them. The list of Vice-Presidents and members of the Managing Committee that will be submitted for your adoption is yet incomplete, and I trust the Committee will be allowed to complete it. To-day we are making a beginning; as experience teaches us, alterations and improvements will be made hereafter. The proposals which I have explained will be now brought forward before the meeting in the shape of resolutions, when the gentlemen present will have the opportunity of stating their views." (Applause.)

Mr. VENAYEKRAO JUGONNATH SKENKESSETT rose and said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the resolution which I am about to propose is one that I am sure will commend itself to your approval and hearty support. The worthy Chairman and my friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji have so fully explained the nature and object of our meeting, that I will not take up your time by any remarks on this head, but will simply repeat that it is our bounden duty to help, by every means in our power, the good and noble cause they advocate. (Applause.) The more we associate in India for the purpose of representing the wants of this country, the better it will be for the people and our rulers. Bombay, which I trust will at no distant day become the seat of Supreme Government, has ever been foremost in promoting the political advancement of India, and our community has earned for itself the credit of being reasonable in its demands and aspirations. (Applause.) Let us continue to maintain this reputation, and display by our unanimous action and deeds that we are all ready and

willing to co-operate heartily with those who have organized the East India Association in England. The gentlemen connected with the East India Association deserve our best thanks for the disinterested and able manner in which they espoused our cause, and is it not becoming us to second their endeavours? The establishment of a Branch of the East India Association in Bombay I look upon as a great event for this city, for it will be the means of bringing the European and Native communities more in contact, and thus enable them to understand each other better, and promote cordiality and good will; besides it will be the means of helping the Bombay Association, and placing it on a better and permanent footing. Having spent nearly fifteen years in the service of this community, by my connection with the Bombay Association, &c., I look back with satisfaction at the results achieved, and I know by united action, by providing funds for placing the Institution on a firm basis, and supplying it with information, we shall be doing a great deal of good to this country. The daily proofs we are receiving of the interest taken in the welfare of India, by the facilities being gradually offered for the advancement of natives, should stimulate us to show that we are not unworthy of the confidence of our rulers, and I again repeat before sitting down that our endeavours should be to help to the utmost of our power, and second the noble cause so ably advocated by my esteemed friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji." (Applause.)

Mr. Venayekrao concluded with moving—"That in the opinion of this meeting, it is necessary to form a Bombay Branch of the East India Association, in order to help the Association, with funds and information from this country, and to keep the people here informed of its work, and of Indian politics generally."

Mr. FRAMJEE NUSSEERWANJEE PATELL seconded the proposition, which was unanimously passed.

The CHAIRMAN now requested Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta to read the rules which were to be submitted to the meeting for approval, which he did.

Mr. WEDDERBURN begged to propose that the rules, as read, should be adopted. From what had already been said, the meeting was aware that the object in establishing a Bombay Branch was to support the East India Association in London by supplying it with funds and local information. The intention was that the local Branch should be subordinate to the Council in London, and accordingly the meeting would see that the rules just read had been framed strictly on the model of those which governed the parent institution. Mr. Wedderburn said he was confident that educated men throughout the country believed that it was the earnest wish of the British people in governing India to do what was fair and just. (Applause.) The difficulties in governing a country a long distance off arose mainly from ignorance. What the English legislature was in need of was accurate information regarding the real condition and wants of the people; and the object of the East India Association was to supply this information in a legitimate way and without regard to sectional interests. The rules being the same, no one who was a member of the Association in London need hesitate to join the Branch in Bombay; the only difference being that members who had hitherto been practically of little use to the Association would now have an opportunity of rendering material assistance by co-operating with the local Branch. (Applause.)

Mr. HORMUSJEE DADABHOY, in seconding the proposition, said:—"Gentlemen, I beg to second this resolution. The occasion which has brought us here together is one of no ordinary importance, whether we consider the character of the work we undertake to perform or the agency by which we seek to accomplish it. The political amelioration of this country irrespective of sectional interests, by all legitimate means in our power, is a large question, and one calculated to evoke the spirit of patriotism which has lain dormant in the breasts of uneducated men. The local university will not have fulfilled half its functions if the young men it annually sends forth with the seal of its approbation, so to speak, are not imbued with the conviction that honest patriotism is a duty which they owe to themselves, their God, and their fellow-countrymen. It is true that, as a rule, the rising generation of educated natives in Bombay have not yet evinced any aptitude for political discussions. Every one for himself and Mammon for us all, was, until lately, the motto of some of them. The history of Bombay since the outbreak of the internecine struggle in America affords a plea for partial mitigation of the severity of this judgment. The presence of so many young men, and the apparent sympathy they have exhibited of late with the work of the East India Association, rather tends to negative the supposition that they have neither inclination

nor ability to take an intelligent part in controversies of a political character. A Committee like the one proposed to be established was a great desideratum, and let us hope that through its medium our young men will succeed in achieving the greatest good for the greatest number." (Applause.)

MR. NOWROJEE FURDONJEE took this opportunity of stating to the meeting that it was with feelings of high gratification that he saw the formation of a Bombay Branch of the East India Association. He assured the meeting on behalf of himself and his fellow-members of the Bombay Association that they would be exceedingly happy to co-operate with the Society in every possible way. He had had the honour of assisting at the establishment of the East India Association in London; and he could assure the meeting that he felt great satisfaction at the mode in which it worked. He wished all success to the Bombay Branch of the East India Association.

The proposition was then put to the meeting and unanimously carried.

MR. VURJIVANDAS MADHOWDAS then moved, and Dr. DHIRUJRAM DULPUTRAM seconded, the following proposition:—"That the following gentlemen be elected President and Vice-Presidents of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association:—President, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart. Vice-Presidents, the Hon. Munguldas Nathooobai; Framjee Nusserwanjee Patell, Esq.; the Hon. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy; Venayekrao Juggonath Sunkersett, Esq.; Dinsha Manockji Petit, Esq.; Dr. Bhau Daji; Venayek Gangadhar Shastree, Esq.; Cursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama, Esq." The motion was unanimously carried.

On the motion of Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, seconded by Mr. PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, Mr. Vurjivandas Madhowdas was also elected one of the Vice-Presidents.

MR. DOSSABHAI FRAMJEE KURRAKA proposed that the following gentlemen be elected Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Honorary Secretaries, and Members of the Managing Committee, *viz.*:—Chairman, Dr. Bhau Daji; Vice-Chairman, W. Wedderburn, Esq.; Honorary Secretaries, Pherozeshah M. Mehta, Esq., and Bal. Mangesh Waglé, Esq.; Members, Messrs. Sorabji Shapoorji, C. N. Cama, V. N. Mandlik, W. M. Wood, H. Manistry, M. Mull, Ragunath Narayan, Dhunjibhoy Framji Patell, Ardeshir Framji Moos, Shantaram Narayan, Khunderao Chimanrao Bedarkar, Hormusji Dadabhoy. K. R. Cama, Rev. Dhunjibhoy Nowroji, Mahadeo Govind Ranadé, Jehanghir, Merwanji, Atmaram Pandurang, Ramcrushna Gopal Bhandarkar, Pestonji Dinsha, Muncheerji Cawasji Murzban, Janardhan Sukaram Gadgil, Rustomji Cowasji Bahadoorji, Thakordas Atmaram, Juverilal Oomyashunker, Kalkhisra Nowroji Kabra, Rustomji Nusserwanji Khory, Vishnu Pursaram Shastree, Dr. Dallas, and four other gentlemen to be elected by the Committee.

MR. DOSABHOY FRAMJEE said that he hoped it was not expected that he should say anything at length in support of the resolution, because little or nothing had been left for him to speak, after the remarks which they had just heard from the Chairman, and the other gentlemen who had preceded him, as to the claims of the East India Association upon the support and encouragement of the people of this country. He would therefore briefly confine himself to a few remarks on the immediate object of the resolution. Glancing at the list of names forming the Committee, he found, as no doubt his hearers also must have seen, that the different classes and the different interests of the community were very well represented in that Committee. Merchants, Lawyers, Doctors of Medicine, Government officials, Graduates of the University, were all there, and Mr. Dosabhoj had no doubt that each and all would try to do their duty towards their country by taking an active interest and employing their best energies in the working of the Association. The President and the Vice-Presidents, who will form, as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said the other day, the upper house of the Association's Branch in Bombay, were all men of high position and mature and wide experience, and the Committee would receive much good advice and aid from them. The Committee was elected for one year only, and if at the end of their period of office they were able to give a good account of their work, they would receive the praise which would be due to them—but never mind the praise, they would have their best reward—the reward of their conscience in the knowledge of having done their duty towards their country and their fellow-men. The joint-secretaries were young lawyers, and distinguished graduates of our University, and Mr. Dosabhoj Framjee hoped that they would not allow their youthful enthusiasm to cool down when briefs began to accumulate upon their hands. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. W. M. WOOD, in seconding the motion, remarked that he might fairly have declined to second this list of names as it included his own; but it was lost in the

crowd, so that did not matter. The list of office-bearers had been drawn up so as to represent nearly all sections of society : that there were not a larger number of European names was explained by its being the season when so many were absent from Bombay, and as five vacancies yet remained, the deficiency in that respect could be easily supplied. He much wished, however, that some members of the old Bombay army (one representative of which he was glad to see present, Major Macdonald) could be induced to join this local committee. The Association itself originated with what was known as General North's Committee, which comprised many Bombay officers, and in the changes which were likely to come, the aid of the Association might be found very useful to the same class. The speaker expressed the hope that all the members elected that day would, each in their turn, do what they could to further the objects of the Association. It was gratifying to see a large and enthusiastic meeting to begin with, but they must remember it was steady continuous work that was wanted, and such as could derive little advantage from mere excitement. Their worthy president had set a good example by coming to attend the meeting that day, and he trusted that the work of the Association so satisfactorily begun would be maintained in Bombay. (Applause.)

The motion was then unanimously carried.

Mr. KARSONDAS MADHOWDAS then moved a vote of thanks to Sir Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy for his kindness in taking the chair, and his zealous conduct while in it, which was seconded by Mr. Venayek Gangadher Shastree. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji also begged to support the motion, and expressed himself very thankful to Sir Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy for the very courteous and prompt assistance which that gentleman had extended to him in respect of the present meeting. He also acknowledged the kindness of the gentlemen who were nominated Vice-Presidents of the Branch. The motion was carried by acclamation, after which the meeting separated.

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## RULES OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

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1. THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted in pursuance of Article 20 of the Rules of the East India Association.

### OBJECTS.

2. Its attention shall be principally directed, Firstly, towards supplying accurate and authentic information to the head body in London, particularly on all questions relating to the Bombay Presidency; Secondly, towards suggesting or proposing practical measures in connection therewith; Thirdly, towards diffusing a knowledge of Indian questions generally, particularly in connection with the work of the Association, among the general body of the people here; Fourthly, towards acting as a medium of communication between the Association and all those persons or bodies desirous of carrying on correspondence with it in the spirit of the aims and objects which it has undertaken to promote; and Fifthly, towards raising funds for and acting generally as the Agents of the Association.

3. The Bombay Branch of the East India Association shall be composed of the Members of the East India Association spread throughout the Bombay Presidency.

4. There shall be Resident and Non-Resident Members; Resident Members being all those residing in Bombay.

5. The expenses of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association shall be defrayed out of the funds collected by it on behalf of the East India Association: provided however that they shall never exceed fifteen per cent. of the total sum so collected by it.

### MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

6. The management of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association shall be vested in a Managing Committee to be elected at the Annual Meeting of the

Branch, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Two Honorary Secretaries, and Thirty-two Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum.

7. A President of the Branch shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Managing Committee may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen or others as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Branch.

8. The Managing Committee shall appoint such employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

9. The Managing Committee may fill up Vacancies in their own body until the next Annual Meeting of the Branch.

10. The Managing Committee shall meet on the first Wednesday in the month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any Three Members of the Committee, may at any time convene a meeting by giving three days' notice.

11. The Managing Committee may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Branch, Three of whom shall form a Quorum.

12. At the desire of Five Members of the Managing Committee, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Branch, the Secretaries shall convene a Special Meeting of the Branch.

#### FUNCTIONS OF OFFICERS.

13. The President, or in his absence any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member nominated by those present shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Branch.

14. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Managing Committee, or in their absence any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Managing Committee.

15. The Annual Meeting of the Members shall be held in the month of February in every year.

16. General Ordinary Meetings of the Members for the discussion of subjects connected with India shall be held at such times and places as the Managing Committee may appoint.

17. A Statement of the Accounts of the Branch shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Managing Committee, and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Managing Committee to each Resident Member ten days before the Annual Meeting.

18. The Managing Committee shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Branch.

19. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Branch, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

20. The Council may in their discretion forward such papers, read before the several Meetings of the Branch, as they may think useful, to the Council of the Association in London.

#### President.

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHAY, BART.

#### Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Munguldass Nuthoobhai.  
Framjee Nusserwanjee Patel, Esq.  
The Hon. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy.  
Venayekrao Juggonathjee Sunkersott,  
Esq.  
Raymond West, Esq.

Dinsha Maneckjee Petit, Esq.  
Dr. Bhau Dajee.  
Venayek Gungadhar Shastree, Esq.  
Cursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama, Esq.  
Verjewandas Madhowdas, Esq.

# Managing Committee.

Chairman—DR. BEAU DAJEE.

Vice-Chairman—W. WEDDERBURN, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries—PHEROZESHAN M. MEHTA, Esq., and BAL MANGESH WAGLE, Esq.

Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee, Esq.  
 Cursetjee Nuserwanjee Cama, Esq.  
 Rao Sahab V. N. Mundlick.  
 W. Martin Wood, Esq.  
 Henry Manisty, Esq.  
 M. Mull, Esq.  
 Rugunath Narayen, Esq.  
 Dhunjeebhoy Framjee Patell, Esq.  
 Ardeseer Framjee Moos, Esq.  
 Shuntharam Narayen, Esq.  
 Dr. Dallas.  
 Khunderao Chimanrao Bedarkar, Esq.  
 Hormusjee Dadabhai, Esq.  
 K. R. Cama, Esq.  
 Rev. Dhunjeebhoy Naorojee.

Mahadeo Govind Ranadé, Esq.  
 Jehangheer Merwanjee, Esq.  
 Dr. Atmaram Pandoorang.  
 Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq.  
 Pestonjee Dinshaw, Esq.  
 Muncherjee Cowasjee Murzban, Esq.  
 Janardhan S. Gadgill, Esq.  
 Dr. Rustomjee C. Bahdhoorjee.  
 Thackordas Atmaram, Esq.  
 Juverilal Oomyashunker, Esq.  
 Kaikhosru N. Kabra, Esq.  
 Dr. Rustomjee N. Khory.  
 Vishnu Pursaram, Esq.  
 Nanabhai Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Esq.  
 Dr. Dhirajram Dulpuram.

A large meeting of those who take an interest in the work of this Association was held on Thursday, the 3rd inst., at 5 P.M., in the hall of Framjee Cowasjee Institute to hear Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's second discourse in English on the East India Association and its Bombay Branch. Mr. Dossabhooy Framjee was called to the chair, and with a few prefatory remarks he opened the meeting. He observed that they had all heard with pleasure and gratification Mr. Dadabhai's previous lectures, and he had no doubt that the audience would equally enjoy the present lecture. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who on rising was greeted with loud and continuous applause, said:—

GENTLEMEN,—Some of the circulars calling the last meeting for forming a Branch were, owing to an oversight or mistake, omitted to be sent, and I owe an apology to those gentlemen who did not receive them. When I was asked at the last lecture by my friend Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee to give one lecture more, I understood him to mean that I should give some further details regarding the work of the East India Association in England; and I will, therefore, give a short sketch of it. First of all, we might say that there are three distinct interests in this country which require representation in England. 1st, the people of India; 2nd, the native princes of India; and 3rd, the European services in India. I will tell you as briefly as possible what has been done by the East India Association with regard to the people of this country. The East India Association has handled two important subjects—admission of natives into the Civil Service, and irrigational works in India. We know that attempts have been made from time to time to bring about the accomplishment of the first of these objects, and we know also that the door of admission has not yet been fairly opened,—the numerous obstacles in the way having not yet been removed. When in 1867 some of the members of the East India Association were considering privately how to bring this important subject to the notice of the authorities in England, it fortunately for us so happened that Sir Stafford Northcote in his very first speech on India made some kind remarks about the natives. This gave encouragement to their friends, who were already exerting themselves for them. The good feeling of some of the members which had first led them on in the work was further stimulated. At last the Association took active steps, a memorial was drawn up, adopted, and presented to the Indian Secretary. This memorial contained two prayers—first, that natives should be so assisted by Government by means of scholarships as to be enabled to go over to England to learn any liberal profession or com-



pete for the Civil Service. The other prayer was that arrangements should be made to examine candidates for the Civil Service in India as well as in England. Instead of choosing either one or other of these two prayers, Sir Stafford Northcote gave it as his opinion that both were good, and could be judiciously combined. Sir Stafford Northcote had been already induced also to communicate with the Viceroy here on this subject by a remark made, I think, in the comparison of the British and Native rule by the Commissioner of Oude, that the want of a field for the educated natives was one great drawback of the British rule in India. The Viceroy, in reply, fully admitted the justice of the demand, and resolved that some posts of importance in the non-regulation provinces should be granted to the natives, but that nothing could at present be done for them in the regulation provinces, as the law prevented it. This reply of the Indian Viceroy called forth a remarkable despatch from the Secretary of State. Besides the covenanted service, he observed, there were posts in the uncovenanted service also highly honourable and lucrative, which should be given to natives of ability and character, and that without prejudice to deserving incumbents the service should be made native. Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Erskine Perry went a little further still in the expression of their opinions. Sir Bartle expressed his opinion that they should not make much of the few crumbs that they let fall to the natives, but that they should make some further efforts to give the educated youths of this country their due. Sir Erskine Perry said they should not regard law in the spirit of lawyers only, but that they should administer law as statesmen, and if law created an obstacle let law remove it. Accession of opinions such as these on our side was a very great advantage. But this was not all; Mr. Henry Fawcett, actuated with no other interest than that of philanthropy, and by a sense of responsibility towards India, made a motion in Parliament that the Civil Service examinations should be held in England as well as in India. By this time a number of objections had been urged by several English newspapers. The East India Association again took up the subject, and tried its best to assist the good kind friends of the natives in their disinterested exertions. Fortunately enough, these exertions were further strengthened by many English noblemen and gentlemen who had served in different parts of India. These, I think seventeen or eighteen in number, gave very favourable opinions as to the capacities of the educated youths of this country to hold high offices in the state with efficiency and integrity. One gentleman gave an unfavourable opinion. This was Sir William Denison, and he had a perfect right to give out his own conviction; but the general opinion was favourable. About this time Sir Stafford Northcote introduced his two India bills in the House; and they showed that he had not forgotten the two prayers made in the first memorial. It was objected to by some that the competition test alone was not sufficient for native candidates. It would only test their mental abilities; and that all the other important qualifications for holding high appointments, as those of magistrates and collectors, &c., will be left without a test. It would, therefore, be far from prudent to give such high offices to the natives. The usual controversy of competition and selection thus again arose. Sir Stafford Northcote introduced a clause in the Governor-General of India Bill removing any existing legal obstacle in the way of admitting natives in India. Here the matter rests for the present, and this clause will very likely become law in the hands of the present Secretary. The native press does not think much of it, though it is very glad and thankful indeed that what is proposed to be done is a sign of better things to come. But they are of opinion that the clause may prove a dead letter, and that if efforts are made to admit natives into the Civil Service by as it were a back-door, they will be looked down upon by their European colleagues in the service. I think it is rather premature to form any opinion either one way or the other till the rules provided for in the clause are made and published. But I must say that there are some circumstances which to some extent justify the fears of the native papers. Similar promises and pledges have been made before which have been left unfulfilled. But our present Secretary of State has pledged his word distinctly in reply to a noble Lord that this will not be the case in the present instance. He also condemned what he thought was hastiness in giving former pledges, and showed that his own present pledge was given with deliberation. I think we ought to be satisfied with this pledge till we find that it does not lead to some systematic admission of natives. But I should, however, do the native press justice, and show that its doubts have been not without some reason. There is one service in which, as far as I can see,

there is no obstacle by law for the admission of natives into it, and yet only one or two have gained admission. I allude to the Engineering Service. Rules have been passed qualifying natives, after passing certain examinations, to be appointed Assistant Engineers; and though some natives have already passed the required test, and done practical service, and though many appointments have been made, the natives have been left out altogether. I do not mean to attach any blame in this matter to anybody. But unless there were some good reasons for this, such instances naturally create suspicion and irritation. The second important subject handled by the East India Association has been, as I have already told you, irrigational works in this country. A hundred years ago a great famine destroyed, according to the 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' some seven millions of lives. And now, a hundred years after, preceded by several others, we have another famine with a million of lives and millions' worth of property destroyed. The lives and property destroyed by the famines of the last ten years would have been, I think, sufficient to build all the needful principal irrigational works in this country. That kind friend of the natives, Sir Arthur Cotton, ever and anon urges this subject, and essays to bring it before the notice of those whose duty it is to look after it. The East India Association does what it can in the same direction. A deputation from the Association waited on Lord Mayo, on the eve of his departure for India, and another on the Duke of Argyll, to urge the necessity for such public works in India. The answers which both these deputations received were satisfactory. Lord Mayo has promised to do all that could be done in this matter; and I trust he will rise to the responsibility he has incurred, and destroy the name of famine from this land for ever.

Besides these two important subjects taken up by the East India Association, several papers have been read. To give you some idea of the work that the East India Association has done, I will read out before you a list of the papers read before it. (Mr. Dadabhai here gave a long list.) This will, I think, be quite sufficient to convince you that the Association is doing some good work. These papers read before the Association, and published in its journal, have gone far to spread correct information. Thus the East India Association has done its duty, and it remains for us to do our share in the work. It is *our* duty now to supply the head Association from time to time with accurate and correct information regarding the state of this country, and to strengthen the Association with pecuniary aid. I will now say a word about the native princes of India. Some papers have been read before the Association about the native states, especially Mysore, but no practical steps have been taken. The East India Association has directed its attention more with a view to the future than to the past. I may take this opportunity of stating what the general feelings of many of the English friends of our native princes are. I think we may safely conclude that the days of the annexation policy are over. But the native princes should be quite prepared for the fact that, if they don't prove true to themselves, and that whenever misrule is urged against any on sufficient grounds, the British public will not stir a finger in his behalf, when the Indian Government will depose him, and place a more eligible person instead. No amount of reference to existing treaties will avail. But if the princes only prove true to themselves, there is nothing for them to fear. They should learn to govern with justice and moderation, promote education and public works, and educate well their heirs, and nothing will ever enable them to plead their cause more forcibly and more eloquently than their own good government of their people. I will venture here to make one suggestion to our native princes. From what I hear, many of our native rajahs are doing much towards good government. They should, I think, publish annual reports of their administrations, like that of Travancore, and their position will thus be strengthened. The necessity of reporting will oblige the princes to do some good work. With reference to the interest of the European services, Mr. Dadabhai explained what had been done about Lord Cranborne's Bonus despatch, and for furlough regulations. About the latter, on the morning of the very day a paper was to be read, the *Times* announced satisfactory settlement by the Government, and any further action by our Association became unnecessary. I have no doubt the European interests in India will find the East India Association very useful. This, then, is a rough and hurried sketch of the work done by the East India Association. I hope and trust the natives here will also perform their part. I am glad to inform you that a local branch of the East India Association has been formed. If some European officials join in our work, as Mr. Wedderburn has kindly done, they will

have opportunities of watching our movements, and sometimes by a little explanation, prevent much unnecessary trouble and annoyance. They may also obtain much outside information for their own use. The managing committee of the Local Branch will carry on all the needful current work. But when any important representation is to be made to the London body, the Committee will try to carry with them the weight of the whole meeting. Following the example of the Council in London, they will take on important matters the sense of the general meeting. I am very glad to inform you that several graduates of our University have come forward to help the Association in a very important matter. About sixteen of them have communicated with me, and have expressed their willingness not only to undertake the trouble, but also to bear the pecuniary risk of publishing Gujrathi and Marathi translations of our journals. This, indeed, is very gratifying, and I hope the native community will try their best to relieve these young friends of their pecuniary responsibility. These friends will not only translate our journals, but also any communications made by the natives in the vernaculars for the information of the head body. I hope, therefore, that the natives who do not know English will take advantage of this, and furnish the Branch with correct information, as well as support the vernacular translations, and I also trust that the natives generally, in communication with the Branch here, will organize ways for assisting in raising the permanent fund. Moreover, I am glad to say that I have received an intimation from his Highness the Nawab of Joonaghur, that he would pay one thousand rupees annually, to contribute towards defraying the expenses of translating our journal into Gujrati. I hope that some Marathi princes and gentlemen will assist us in the like way for the Marathi translations. A former donation of one thousand rupees, made by his Highness the Rao of Cutch, has already been acknowledged. The Rao has given another thousand rupees. I have also much pleasure to read a letter from our esteemed townsman, Mr. Cowasjee Jehangir, to Captain Barber, Secretary to the East India Association.

*Bombay, 3rd June, 1869.*

SIR,—After conversation with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on the subject of the above Association, I have the pleasure to enclose you one Government promissory note for Rs. 1000 (one thousand), costing Rs. 1112-14-9, bearing interest from 28th February last, No. <sup>027637</sup><sub>013915</sub> of 5 per cents., interest of which only, when realized

every 6 or 12 months, carry to the general expenditure account as my annual subscription for ever, and principal should not be touched. When financial account of the above Institution published, care should be taken to put a separate item of my Fund in the said account. Should the merciful Providence be pleased to spare my life few years longer, I shall be able to know the result of the working of the above Institution. I shall have further pleasure of adding to the above Fund.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

COWASJEE JEHangIR.

To Captain H. BARBER.

You can easily conceive the pleasure and gratification it affords me thus to notice activity on all sides. (Applause.) The expenses of these lectures, as I have already told you, will be borne by the Hon. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy. The expenses of the Marathi lecture are paid by Mr. V. J. Sunkersett. A Parsee gentleman has undertaken to pay the expenses of publishing my Goozratee lectures. Another Parsee gentleman has undertaken to publish my last English lecture, and another again for expenses of circulars, lists, and sundry printing. In short, I am overwhelmed with favours from all sides, and the press also has supported me very kindly. I hope that the Bombay Branch now formed will persevere, and I have no doubt but that we will get adequate support from the people of this country. There is no want of patriotism on the part of the natives. (Applause.) The natives of this country have political aspirations like any other people. They have been rulers and administrators in times gone by, and under the British Government I trust they will rise again. The masses ought to be led in a proper spirit, and on the skill of their leaders—the educated few of this country, and the British rulers themselves—depends the development of deep loyalty of the people. I appeal once more to the educated youths of India, as well

as to all natives generally, to prove true to themselves, true to their country, and true to the British Government. (Loud applause.)

The Chairman, Mr. DOSSABHOY FRAMJEE, then moved, with a few concise and happy remarks, a vote of thanks to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for his very interesting lecture. He was very glad to see so many gentlemen present notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, and this fact itself proved the extent of the interest taken in this matter. It was the good fortune of the natives to have such an advocate as Mr. Dadabhai (applause), and their peculiar good fortune to agree with him in all his views. The Chairman observed that in one point he did not agree with Mr. Dadabhai, when he stated that his hearers in attending the meeting, and others who had peculiarly supported the Association, had done acts of kindness to him. On the contrary, he, the Chairman, would say that the public were indebted to Mr. Dadabhai for his kindness in all the trouble he was taking. (Applause.) They were by their support to the East India Association not doing Mr. Dadabhai any favour, but simply doing their duty, which all men were bound to do. The Chairman well knew Mr. Dadabhai's feelings. He did not do anything for the sake of receiving thanks. Mr. Dadabhai had always considered the conscientiousness of having done his duty as his best reward, but nevertheless the meeting had to perform a duty, and that was to express to him their warmest thanks for his discourse that evening. (Applause.) The Chairman also expressed considerable gratification at what had transpired at that meeting with regard to the pecuniary support which the Association had received. He was glad to observe, as every one there present would be, that their enlightened and well-known citizen, Mr. Cowasjee Jehangir, had, with his accustomed liberality, given a handsome donation of one thousand rupees to the Association. (Applause.)

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI in a couple of neat sentences expressed himself very deeply moved by the enthusiastic manner in which the last motion was carried. He hoped the zeal thus begun to be shown would not end there, but that something substantial would be done to strengthen the East India Association in the ways he had already enumerated. Thanks, he said, were also due to those in England whose disinterested labours were productive of much good. (Applause.) After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting was dissolved.

## ANNUAL MEETING, WEDNESDAY, 23RD JUNE, 1869.

### THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD LYVEDEN, IN THE CHAIR.

The Report was taken as read.

General NORTH moved, and Mr. GORDON seconded the adoption of the Report.\*

Mr. WADYA.—I beg to object to Paragraph 8 being adopted, on the ground that the financial accounts appended to the Report are incomplete, and not so full as those given last year. I beg to move that this Meeting, seeing that the financial accounts of the Society at the end of the Report are not given in full, request the Managing Committee to prepare a fuller account, showing in greater detail the present financial position of the Society, and that the Managing Committee convene an Ordinary Meeting this day fortnight for the presentation of the same.

Mr. H. R. SHROFF.—I second that.

Sir G. LE G. JACOB.—That seems so reasonable a proposition that I should hope it would be adopted by the Meeting.

General NORTH.—I beg leave to point out with reference to the objections raised by Mr. Wadya, that the accounts have not been given in a more detailed form simply because unfortunately our Secretary, Captain Barber, has only very recently returned from Italy, where he was obliged to go on account of ill-health. The gentleman who has been acting for him, Captain Nott, did not prepare the accounts, and Captain Barber has not had time to prepare them since he came back, but he has now gone up-stairs, I understand, for the book, and all these matters can be inspected in detail as they are in the accounts, by any one who wishes to examine them.

Sir G. Le G. JACOB.—But do not you think a full statement should be made out and placed before us?

CHAIRMAN.—As I understand, all that the mover of this amendment wishes to be added is the arrears of subscriptions.

Mr. Low.—I can hardly imagine that the gentleman who has moved the amendment can wish that there should be an adjournment for a fortnight for the purpose of putting at the bottom of the accounts two lines which the Auditors really had nothing to do with. If I understand rightly the duty of the Auditors, it is to see that the receipts and expenditure tally with the accounts in the office. All that these accounts profess to do is to give an account for nine months, from the 1st of July, 1868, to the 30th of April, 1869, of the amount the Association has received and expended during that period. Now unless you are prepared to call in question the way in which the Auditors have gone through the accounts, I take it for granted you will assume that these figures are perfectly correct. If you want inserted at the bottom the amount of arrears due to the Association on the 1st of May, it would be easy to insert it; but the reason why I, for one, as a Member of the Council, did not insist on a statement of the arrears being appended to the accounts was simply this. We are now just at the end of June, and if we put here what were the arrears of subscriptions on the 1st of May, that would not represent the state of the arrears at the present time. That the arrears are very large there is no doubt, and at the last two General Meetings I have had occasion to call attention to the fact. At one of our Meetings I moved the resolution that every one whose subscription was in arrear more than three months should have his name struck off the list of Members, but it was thought at the time that we were too young a society for anything like that; and I felt that I could not persist in the resolution. If you think it desirable to add at the end of this account that on the 1st of May this year a certain number of subscribers had not paid their subscriptions, I am sure, speaking for myself as one of the Council, I should not have the slightest objection to it; but it will not record the state of things now, because funds have come in since the 1st of May. It was no part of the duty of the Auditors to go into the accounts later than the 1st of May this year. They have shown you what was received and what was paid, and if you take the number of Members in the second paragraph of the Report, and then look at the amount received as stated in the account, you will arrive at what you wish to be put in figures—viz. the number of persons who have not paid their subscriptions. It is disclosed on the face of the Report, only it was thought desirable that we should not put at the bottom of this account the large amount of arrears due to the Association. If you want those two lines added to the account, there can be no objection, but that will not state the real facts of the case at the present time.

Colonel SYKES.—I gather from what has been said that the difficulty will be met in future. It appears that, in consequence of the absence of Captain Barber, the accounts have not been carried on so regularly and so systematically as they were the year before; but no doubt we ought to have before us not only the accounts of the year, that is to say, the receipts and expenditure, but also what the liabilities are and what the arrears of subscriptions are. That information is generally appended to all Reports.

Mr. WADYA.—In that case I withdraw my amendment. I simply put it to know what the facts were. I do not want in the slightest degree to suggest that the Auditors have not properly performed their duty.

CHAIRMAN.—The Society, I am sure, are very much obliged to you for drawing attention to it.

General NORTH moved "That the Secretary should be an *ex-officio* Member of the Council, with power to vote."

The motion having been seconded by Colonel Sykes, was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. GORDON.—I am sure every one here present will agree in the motion I am now about to make, which is, that Lord Lyveden be appointed President of the Society for the ensuing year. We are all very much indebted to him for the great attention he has shown to it. On every occasion when the Council have desired to go to the Government he has rendered his assistance to us.

The motion having been seconded, was put and carried unanimously.

CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, I feel very much flattered at your appointing me again to a highly honourable office. Any assistance I can render to the Association it will

always be perfectly welcome to. I am only sorry it is so little. If you think my attendance when you go on deputations to the Government may be of any use (and perhaps Members of Parliament, in accompanying such deputations, may, without exerting any influence, help to put the Association in a better position than it otherwise would be in), I shall always be perfectly willing to attend. I am very much obliged to you for electing me.

Colonel SYKES.—I beg to move that the following gentlemen constitute the Council. *Chairman of the Council*:—The Earl of Kellie. *Vice-Chairman*:—Major-Gen. C. F. North. *Council*:—Lord Erskine; Lord William Hay, M.P.; Col. W. H. Sykes, M.P.; Lieut.-Col. Jervis, M.P.; B. Torrens, Esq.; F. M. Williams, Esq., M.P.; Gen. Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B.; Gen. Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; Major-Gen. Sir Edward Green, K.C.B.; Major-Gen. Sir Vincent Eyre, K.C.S.I.; Major-Gen. Sir E. Wallace, K.C.S.I.; Major-Gen. W. E. S. Scott; E. B. Eastwick, Esq., M.P., C.B., F.R.S.; W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq.; P. P. Gordon, Esq.; Col. P. T. French; Major Evans Bell; W. Tayler, Esq.; S. P. Low, Esq.; P. M. Tait, Esq.; Capt. Palmer; Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.; Dr. K. M. Dutt; D. D. Cama, Esq.

Mr. SHROFF.—Instead of Captain Palmer and Dr. Dutt, I propose Mr. Wadya and Mr. Gazdar.

Mr. BANNAJEE.—I beg to second that. I would suggest that the names be put separately.

Mr. SHROFF.—I propose Mr. Wadya as a Member of the Council.

Mr. BANNAJEE.—I second it.

The motion was put to the Meeting and carried.

The name of Mr. Torrens having been withdrawn, Mr. Shroff proposed W. A. Gazdar as a Member of the Council.

The motion, after being seconded, was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

The other names proposed by Colonel Sykes were adopted unanimously.

Mr. TAIT.—I rise to propose the resolution of which you have had notice—"That Ceylon be included in the objects of the Association, and that the preceding rules apply also to that island." I have no interest in Ceylon. I have no estates there—certainly I have travelled over the island twice, but I have no pecuniary interest in it. My only object in bringing this motion forward, is the interest of the Association. I will first state how the proposition arises. Some time ago, Mr. George Wall, a very eminent merchant of Ceylon, the President of the Chamber of Commerce and Chairman of the Planters' Association, was in this country, and in the course of conversation with him, he expressed great regret that there was no institution in London which would form a medium of communication between the commercial and planting interests of the island and the authorities here. At my suggestion, he attended a meeting of the Council of this Association, and explained his views at large to the Council, and if I recollect rightly, the feeling of the Council was that Ceylon should be included in the objects of the Association; but one of the rules was felt to bar the inclusion of Ceylon without a reference to the annual meeting. Without going into the statistics of Ceylon, it is, no doubt, familiar to the whole of you that Ceylon is about a third of the size of Ireland. The population is 2,000,000, of which 5000 are Europeans, and about 10,000 descendants of Europeans. From 8 to 9 per cent. of the population of Ceylon are Christians, or persons professing Christianity. As to revenue, the revenue of Ceylon touches 1,000,000*l.* a-year. The trade is, in round figures, about 8,000,000*l.*, the exports being chiefly coffee, cinnamon, and sugar. We have here a very large constituency who offer to affiliate themselves with this Society. I have never heard any objections to the admission of Ceylon except two; the first being that India is large enough, and the second that if we were to open up relations with Ceylon, we should be led into communications with the Colonial Office. I am totally unable to see the force of either of those two objections, and I will not dilate upon them; but I will simply point out what appear to me to be the advantages of taking Ceylon into association with us. The first advantage is the financial consideration. The position of our finances is not very flourishing; here you have a very large number of gentlemen offering to join us, who would pay subscriptions and help the finances of the Association. The next advantage is that of affording a large number of our countrymen abroad the means of putting forward their views in this country; and, lastly, if you decline to accept the offer of the people of Ceylon to affiliate themselves with this Association, they will go to the

Colonial Society, under the presidency of Lord Bury. The Colonial Society includes India in its objects, though India is not a colony, and therefore by refusing to admit Ceylon, we should be doing two things, refusing a large accession of strength, and really directing that strength towards building up and fortifying a rival institution.

Captain PALMER.—I second the motion.

Colonel SYKES.—No doubt, in a financial point of view, the affiliation of Ceylon might bring grist to the mill, but there is an objection to the proposition beyond those two which Mr. Tait has mentioned, and that is, that we are an East India Association for the natives of India. Nine-tenths of the members are in India. Surely before we who are now present attempt to carry this motion, for the affiliation of the princes and gentry of India with a colony like Ceylon, at all events it should be ventilated in India, and the opinions of the natives gathered, either directly or indirectly. Before we proceed to action here, and before we bind ourselves to take up the interests and enter into the views of bodies in Ceylon, which might involve us in questions with the Colonial Office, we ought to ascertain what the feeling of the members of the Association in India would be upon the proposition. Mr. Tait knows what is going on in Ceylon with respect to the question of representative government. If Ceylon were affiliated with us, I quake for the consequences. We may be insidiously brought into complications without our intending it. We owe it to the native gentry of India who have supported us so liberally, that their opinion should be sent to the native papers, and that the leading natives should be invited to express their opinions upon it. There is no assimilation between the people of India and the people of Ceylon. The people of Ceylon are almost exclusively Buddhists—there is not a Buddhist in India. There is no sympathy of thought and religious feeling and usage between Ceylon and India. It would not be a harmonious union. You may say the same of India, but nevertheless they are under one Government. Ceylon would not be under the same Government as India. We should have to make representations to two departments. With respect to what was considered desirable for India, we should have to refer to the India Office; but with regard to remedial measures for Ceylon, we should have to make representations to another department of the State, namely, the Colonial Office. Under these circumstances, I think it would not be prudent just now to press this measure; but let the proposition laid before the Meeting be sent to the newspapers in India, and let the natives be invited to express their opinions upon it, and if they are quite willing that there should be such affiliation, then, of course, I should withdraw all opposition to it.

General NORTH.—I think, perhaps, the best course to pursue, would be that Colonel Sykes should embody the proposition he has made in an amendment to Mr. Tait's motion, to the effect that this question should be brought before the next Annual Meeting, and that in the meantime it should be ventilated in India, and the opinions of the natives there ascertained about it.

Colonel SYKES.—Then I move as an amendment—"That the question of the inclusion of Ceylon in these objects of the Association be brought before the next Annual Meeting, and that meanwhile the proposition should be circulated in India amongst the Fellows, and an expression of opinion invited on it."

General NORTH.—I second the amendment.

Sir G. LE G. JACOB.—I would suggest that the arguments for and against the proposition should be circulated. I think in our having to deal with two bodies we should find some difficulty. It would, I think, be a good plan to write to Dadabhai Naoroji, who is in Bombay. He might be employed as the channel of communication on the subject.

General NORTH.—A lengthened discussion took place on the subject at one of the Annual Meetings, which is all printed in the Journal.

Mr. TAIT.—A very large number of Members of the Association are in favour of the affiliation of Ceylon; others are against it. A very eminent Member of the Council, Sir Vincent Eyre, with whom I talked on the matter, is inclined to be in favour of Ceylon being admitted. Colonel Sykes objects to the affiliation of Ceylon on the score of religion. The religious statistics of Ceylon are these:—One-half the population are Buddhists, 15,000 are Christians, 150,000 are Mahomedans. There is a very large Mahomedan population in Ceylon, and the remainder are Gentoo—I do not know what they are.



Colonel SYKES.—Buddhists.

Mr. TAIT.—If it is the feeling of the Meeting that the matter should be delayed for a year, with your permission I will write to Mr. Wall, the Chairman of the Planters' Association and President of the Chamber of Commerce, and request him to put his views on paper, promising him that the question shall be deliberately considered by the Association. I will withdraw my motion.

The amendment moved by Colonel Sykes was put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. LOW.—There is a very curious omission in Article 19, for there is no provision in that Article for the appointment of Auditor, consequently, on the last occasion, the Council had to elect one. It is due to the Association that the spirit of the Article should be carried out, and that an Auditor should be appointed on the present occasion. I would suggest the name of the gentleman who audited the accounts on the last occasion efficiently, and spent a long time about it. I propose that the Auditor taken from the Members of the Society for the present year be Mr. Pragje Bhimjee.

Mr. WADYA.—Instead of Mr. Pragje Bhimjee, I propose Mr. H. B. Shroff.

Mr. CAMA.—I second that.

Colonel SYKES.—Is the gentleman you propose conversant with accounts?

Mr. WADYA.—He is a partner in the firm of Dadabhai Naoroji and Company.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. LOW.—Perhaps you will think it rather a curious resolution that I am going to propose, which is that this Meeting be adjourned for six months with this object. This question of the arrears is a very serious one. It is a matter which has come before the Council over and over again. I have said so much about it that I am almost ashamed to speak of it. The only way, as it appears to me, to meet it is this—that we adjourn for six months, and that on that day a list of those Members in arrears be read to the Meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. J. GAZDAR.—I second that resolution.

CHAIRMAN.—The only addition to it that I would propose is, that in the meantime the Members whose subscriptions are in arrear be written to, and the purport of this motion communicated to them. "That this Meeting be adjourned for six months, in order to consider the question of the arrears due to the Society, and that a letter be written to those Members whose subscriptions are now in arrear, informing them of this resolution, and that their names will be submitted to the next meeting."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Colonel SYKES proposed, and General NORTH seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,

1868-1869.

1. The Council of the East India Association deeply regret that the serious illness of Captain Barber, the Secretary, prevented the Annual Meeting being held last month, as provided by the Rules of the Institution.

2. Since the Annual Meeting on the 18th of July, 1868, 22 Life Members and 214 Ordinary Members have been elected, and the number removed by death and resignation during the same period has been 21, leaving on the books at the present time 86 Life Members and 744 Ordinary Members.

3. The Accounts for the past year have been audited in accordance with Article 19 of the Rules, and are submitted herewith. The Council regret that the arrears of subscription for the present year are considerable, and they would urge upon Members to adopt measures for early payment of the same. It is hoped that the request of the Council that Members will instruct their bankers or agents to pay subscriptions as they become due, will prevent an accumulation of arrears in future.

4. During the past Session the following Meetings of the Association have been held:—

1868.

October 29th.—A Paper was read by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, on  
"THE DUTIES OF LOCAL INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS."

November 4th.—A Deputation from the Council waited upon the Earl of Mayo, prior to his leaving for India, to urge upon his Lordship the importance of Irrigation Works in India, and to express a hope that the Government would assist the same in accordance with the theme of the Memorial then presented.

December 8th.—A Meeting held to enable Mr. W. TAYLER to bring forward a resolution suggesting that a Deputation should wait on the SECRETARY OF STATE with a Memorial on the subject of Irrigation Works in India.

December 18th.—Deputation waited upon the Duke of ARGYLL, at the India Office, to present a Memorial on the subject of Irrigation Works in India.

## 1869.

January 12th.—A Paper was read by Mr. LOGIN, on  
 "MATERIAL IMPROVEMENT OF INDIA."

February 4th.—A Paper read by Mr. W. BOWDEN, jun., on

"THE AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE GODAVERY DISTRICT (MADRAS PRESIDENCY, EAST INDIA), WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION WORKS."

February 18th.—A Paper by the Honourable H. STANLEY, on

"ESTABLISHMENT OF A 'MUSAFIR-KHANEH' OR GUEST-HOUSE FOR ASIATICS IN LONDON."

April 7th.—A Paper by Major-General Sir VINCENT EYRE, K.C.S.I., C.B., entitled,

"A RETROSPECT OF THE AFFGHAN WAR, WITH REFERENCE TO PASSING EVENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA."

5. Monthly Meetings of the Council take place. The Council recommend that the Secretary should be an *ex-officio* Member of the Council, with power to vote. It is also desirable that Article 19 be altered so as to provide for the appointment, at the Annual Meeting, of the second Auditor by the Association.

6. The best thanks of the Association are due to the gentlemen who have furnished papers to the Association.

7. The cost of publishing the Journal has been greatly reduced, and it is hoped that its present circulation has proved satisfactory. It has, no doubt, been extremely useful, and its continuance appears to the Council to be absolutely necessary.

8. The subject of extending the Association to Ceylon has been brought under the notice of the Council, and has had their serious consideration. Considerable diversity of opinion exists as to the policy of adopting the suggestion, and the Council deem it best to leave it to the Annual Meeting to decide thereupon, without recording any recommendation upon the subject.

9. The experience of the past assures the Council that the Association is well adapted for the purpose for which it was established, and they look forward to the future with considerable hope. Their best thanks are due to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for his able advocacy and assistance during his present stay in India; they have received from him the most satisfactory reports, and upon his return they anticipate a large accession of strength to the Institution.

10. The Council congratulate the Association upon the success of its efforts generally, and more especially as regards the results of the Petition to the Secretary of State for India, for throwing open the Civil Service to the Natives of India, nine Scholarships having been granted by Government.

11. At the present Annual Meeting, the President of the Association, Vice-Chairman, and Auditor, will have to be elected.

12. General Scott having resigned his seat at the Council, consequent upon his residing so far from London, and Mr. Coleman being in India, the Council recommend the appointment of Capt. W. C. Palmer, late Madras Army, and Dr. T. Goldstücker to fill these vacancies.

GENERAL ABSTRACT of the ACCOUNTS of the EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,  
from 1st July, 1868, to 30th April, 1869.

EXPENDITURE.				RECEIPTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Paid Secretary and Clerks ..	275	17	0	Balance of Account, 30th June	232	11	6
Rent .. .. .	120	0	0	Annual Subscriptions, 1867, } 346	0	0	
Office Furniture .. .. .	4	1	4	1868, and 1869 .. .. .			
Paid for Journal .. .. .	85	3	0	16 Life Subscriptions .. ..	160	0	0
Paid for Stationery .. .. .	7	3	2	Donations .. .. .	190	4	0
Paid for Freights, Postage, &c.	76	11	6	Part of Expenses incurred in }			
Loss by Exchange .. .. .	9	9	8	Presentation of Address to }	35	10	0
Balance in hand .. .. .	385	19	10	Sir Bartle Frere .. .. .			
	964	5	6		964	5	6

PRAGJEE BHIMJEE, }  
P. P. GORDON, } Auditors.

H. BARBER,  
Secretary, East India Association.

MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JULY 7, 1869.

W. TAYLER, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Captain PALMER read the following Paper, communicated by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji:—

*Indian Civil Service Clause in the Governor-General of India Bill.*

THE Duke of Argyll has moved for the second reading of the Governor-General of India Bill. The manner in which it has been generally received by the House of Lords and the press, makes me feel that the clause relating to the admission of natives into the Covenanted Civil Service will pass as proposed, and I venture to make a few remarks. It is desirable, in the first place, to know how the natives have regarded the clause. Generally there is a feeling of thankfulness for what is proposed to be done, as a step in the right direction; but the feeling of satisfaction at the clause as it stands is evidently incomplete. I give extracts from the native papers I have seen, and I think they fairly represent the general opinion and feeling.

The 'Native Opinion' (an Anglo-Marathi paper), of the 11th inst., dislikes the difference in the mode of admission for the Europeans and natives, and says:—"Natives of India wish not to shrink from a fair competition. And they certainly will not like to be admitted into the service on any terms which would mark them as an inferior class of men. . . . We should stick to the prayer for competition in India." It concludes—"We admit indeed that even this, being a concession to the demands of justice and fairness, is a step in advance, and as such we receive it with thanks, but it would be admitted on all hands that it is far too small in proportion to the large promises and grand occasion. It ought, however, to show to our countrymen that the 'instinct' of the English nation is sound at bottom, and will not long remain deaf to the calls of duty, however strong and natural the temptations to the contrary. We need only be true to ourselves."

The 'Induprakash' (also an Anglo-Marathi paper), of the 12th inst., after congratulating on the result that the statesmen and people of England admit the right of

natives to the Covenanted Civil Service—thanking this Association for contributing “in no small degree” to bringing about this conviction—and thinking that the people of India will feel grateful for the generous manner in which their claims have been acknowledged—asks: “What guarantee is there that the provision in the proposed Bill will not prove as much or nearly as much a dead letter as the provision in the Act of 1833?” . . . . “The Duke of Argyll ridicules the idea of providing annually nine scholarships for a nation of 180,000,000 souls, and it must be presumed therefore that, according to His Grace’s idea, many more than that number of the natives of India ought to get admission into the Covenanted Civil Service every year. Is this expectation of his likely to be realized by the mere permissive clause in the Bill for the appointment of the natives of India? . . . . There is the greatest ground to fear that the present provision will be nearly as much a dead letter as its predecessor.” It also urges the objection, that “the natives would not relish the idea of having it regarded that they have gained admission into the service by favour, not by test of merit. . . . It would be a matter of the highest delight to us to see these fears falsified.” It concludes with a hope that some obligatory clause would be inserted in the House of Commons.

The ‘Rastgoftar’ (a Guzarati paper), of the 11th instant, heads its leader, “A Ray of Hope in the Slough of Disappointment.” After congratulating its countrymen on the favourable tendency in Parliament towards India, it thinks Lord Lyveden correctly expressed the sentiment of the Indian public, that the natives would not be satisfied with the clause. It objects to different modes of admission, as tending to lower the position of the native; fears, from past experience, that the clause will be a dead letter, citing the instance of the disappointment with regard to the Dispatch of Sir Stafford Northcote for the appointment of natives to higher posts in the Uncovenanted Service, and thinks the ray of hope does not penetrate far enough, and that in the list given by the Duke of Argyll himself of unfulfilled pledges, this clause will be an addition. It considers the step, however, as a good beginning, and trusts that His Grace will carry it out to a successful operation.

The ‘Hindoo Patriot,’ of Calcutta, on the occasion of the introduction of the bill last year, said that the dictum laid down by Sir S. Northcote, that the competitive system which was good for Europeans was not good for natives was fallacious, and thought that the measure might benefit individual natives, but it could not raise the status of the nation.

The ‘Mitrodaya’ (an Anglo-Marathi paper), of 11th instant, regards the present measure as a partial remedy, and thinks that the Duke’s remarks on the inadequacy and farce of nine scholarships as a fulfilment of the pledges or obligations will hold good for all measures yet proposed.

The ‘Hindu Reformer’ (another Anglo-Marathi paper), of 15th inst., thinks the debate “evinces a struggling mixture of liberalism and narrowness, of generous impulses and selfish instincts, and of a resolution to do duty joined to a half-heartedness.” After stating that the Duke of Argyll seeming resolved to wipe off the blame of breaking pledges, and despising the recently-adopted expedient of nine scholarships for 180 millions of people, would lead us to expect that he would enact that a certain percentage of the yearly vacancies shall be bestowed on the natives of India, complains “there was nothing of the kind proposed—much less enacted,” and says, “if the noble Duke is truly anxious to make amends for past evasions, no better way could present itself than extending the first examination to India.” It also urges that an inequality would arise between the selection service of the natives, and the open competition service of the Europeans.

It will be observed from these extracts that the chief cause of anxiety among the natives is the fear that the clause of 1869 may share the fate of that of 1833 and of the Royal Proclamation. I do not suppose anybody would be disposed to blame the natives for this suspiciousness, especially when their fears are based upon past experience. Even leaving the old disappointments alone, there is unfortunately later, or rather present, experience of a similar disappointment in another service. In the Public Works Department the engineering service is open to the natives to a certain extent. In this service, of all others, the natives are considered as most eligible. They are exhorted by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in his late Convocation Speech, to emulate their forefathers, who have left no ordinary monuments of their engineering talent and work. In this service they have special advantages of knowing the habits and language of the people, and there is no fear of undue political power being given

to them. It is, in fact, the least political of all services. I have not had time enough to make full inquiries as to the extent to which the rules of the Public Works Department with regard to natives have been honestly carried out; but as two letters in 'Times of India,' of February 19, 1869, and 'Hindoo Patriot,' of February 22, 1869, have, as far as I am aware, remained uncontradicted, we shall not be far from being safe in concluding that the rules about natives are not fairly carried out in this service. In the Bombay Presidency there are only two natives in the first division, while there are 102 Europeans. There are none in Bengal, North-West Provinces, and minor administrations, and one in Punjab, according to the two letters. In connection with the subject of irrigation, the Indian Government several times complained for the want of sufficient engineers, and allowed works, upon which the life and death of millions depended, to be unduly delayed, when, by proper arrangements and encouragement to natives in this country, they could have obtained any number of hands.

Such unfortunate experience naturally makes the people of this country suspicious of the good faith of Government; and when they know that the interests of the Civil Service are far more important, they despair of the new clause being honestly carried out, unless specific obligatory rules are made for the purpose.

Again, let us see the clause itself. It is not as clear and explicit in its scope as the speeches lead us to expect. As it stands, it means about this:—The Governor-General, in his resolution of 13th September, 1868, says, the law reserves the higher appointments for the Civil Service in the Regulation Provinces. The present clause comes in and says, let the law not restrain him hereafter from making any appointments of natives. And that is all. There is nothing explicit whatever to show what the natives may expect from the clause. If the Governor-General be inclined, he may just make an appointment or two, or a few more even, now and then, and there may be an end of the matter as disappointing as ever. The clause by itself, in its present wording, does not appear to the natives worth much, unless carried out in the spirit of the speech of the Duke of Argyll, as to what should be due to 180,000,000 souls. I do not know whether the return promised by Sir S. Northcote on the second reading of the Governor-General of India Bill, on 15th June last year, of the papers relating to the appointment of natives, has been made or not yet. Sir S. Northcote has there said, "There were papers relating to the appointment of natives which it was desirable the House should be in possession of before passing the Bill. He would take care that they should be laid on the table." When this return is made, we shall be in a position to know the history of the present clause, and the spirit in which it was conceived and determined. It is evident, therefore, that till something definite is laid down in the rules to be made hereafter, as to the scope and mode of operation of the clause, the natives may naturally regard it as a boon of very doubtful value.

Notwithstanding such good reasons for the doubts of the natives with regard to the present clause, I think they may have reliance upon the distinct avowal of the Duke of Argyll, in reply to the question whether the clause would be a dead letter, that "such would not be the case;" and as I believe it is intended to provide for annual returns to be made to Parliament of the number of appointments made every year, the Home authorities and the English and Indian public will have the opportunity of preventing this just concession becoming a mockery and delusion.

We ought also not pass judgment till the rules by which the admission is to be regulated are made. All will depend upon these rules, whether the clause is likely to be a sham and disappointment or a reality.

I venture to make a suggestion here with regard to these rules. I think, taking all the pros and cons for competition versus selection, the plan hit for the Government of India scholarships, lately established, will be the best for the purpose of this clause also. It may be arranged that nine appointments be made every year of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, on the same principle as that adopted for the scholarships, except that the qualifications of the appointment out of the University men be raised from "little-go" to the highest, or one of the M.A.s of the year, with a further provision that the appointment will depend not only upon the highest rank but also upon satisfactory testimony for general character, and physical energy and constitution.

By adopting for the clause the principle and provisions of the Government of India scholarships, parties of all views will have reason to be satisfied, and a fair compromise will be effected. The Competition-party will have their three best University men; the Selection-party will have their remaining six men selected by Government

from the higher classes of society and from meritorious officials who have already done good service to the State. All nine being drawn from over all India, there will be fair representation and varied experience. The noble Duke's own opinion is, "I believe that by competitive examinations conducted at Calcutta, or even by pure selection, it will be quite possible for the Indian Government to secure able, excellent, and efficient administrators." Now, by adopting the above plan, both ways will be well combined.

With the number nine for the annual appointments the natives, I think, ought to be satisfied; for in a service which requires recruiting by about sixty persons every year, and in which it is necessary that the majority should be English, a proportion of about one-sixth will not be an unreasonable commencement. Of course, if a reasonably larger number than nine are appointed every year, the greater will be the satisfaction of the natives.

It is urged that natives would not feel themselves in the same position as Europeans who come out after a competitive examination. I admit that there is much force in this objection, but I do not think that there is at present sufficient reason for such fear. The natives have distinctly and boldly declared that they ask for *No favour*, that they are ready to stand any ordeal like their English competitors, whether intellectual, moral, or physical; and for that reason they ask to be allowed to enter the service through competition only. The authorities as distinctly and readily admit that justice is due to the natives, that former pledges had not been fulfilled, and that they are ready to admit the natives to a "fair share in the administration of their own country, which their education and ability would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to possess." But they say, in their opinion the plan of competition alone is not the best. They have their own opinions; and, in accordance with them, they propose the present plan. They do not on any occasion assert that they propose any plan, or this plan, to *favour* the natives. They think that by their plan they will get the *best men* for the service. The responsibility being theirs, it is reasonable that if they feel convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that their plan is the best, it must have a fair trial. Again, natives, after admission into the Covenanted Service, will enjoy all the rights and privileges of the service on perfect equality with the English servants—there being not the slightest hint to the contrary in the noble Duke's declarations, except ineligibility to "great administrative offices" (Governorships I suppose). There is therefore no reasonable ground to suppose that the natives will feel any inferiority of position. As to the treatment of the native by his European colleagues, it will generally depend upon his own real merits, and education and manners. I think that natives of real merit are treated by Europeans not only with respect, but in many instances even with esteem.

Moreover, if every native admitted into the Covenanted Service be required to visit England for a year or two, all difference of feeling will be removed. I think it very important to make it a necessary condition to visit England for a year at least, on an appointment being made. Having been in England myself, and knowing also the result of the visits of others, I urge very strongly the necessity of this provision in the rules to be made.

With regard to the University men, it may be provided that their visit to England should be devoted to the special studies of law, political economy, &c., &c., required for the "further examinations," and that they should also, with the selected English candidates of the time, submit to these "further examinations."

Upon the whole, therefore, though I am one of the Competition-party, I think there is every reason to be thankful on the part of the natives for the new clause, if their only fear, that it may be allowed to remain a dead letter, prove groundless, as I think it would, from the assurance His Grace himself has given and if no new distinctions are introduced between the English and native servants. We must also remember that His Grace particularly deprecates promises that cannot be fulfilled. So his present deliberate determination and assurance must be relied upon by the natives.

The fear that the clause may prove a sham is not so much a reflection upon the honesty of the Governors in this country, as that as long as an obligatory enactment is not made, the pressure brought to bear upon them by interested sections is often too great for them to resist. What with the pressure of such interests and the obstacles likely to be thrown by subordinate officials, the Secretary of State and the Indian and local Governments will have to exercise much determination before the promise of this clause will obtain a faithful performance.

The expression in the Duke of Argyll's speech has startled the natives very much here. With regard to the nine scholarships, his Lordship says, "They have not been finally sanctioned at home," and the natives are afraid whether this means that there is any chance of their falling through. I trust His Grace does not mean so; for in another part of his speech he says that the *details* are under consideration. The Viceroy tells us that it was at the suggestion of the (late) Secretary of State that this scheme of scholarships was initiated, and that with the modifications he (the Viceroy) had to suggest, he had only to ask the Secretary of State to make early arrangements in England with educational bodies. In reply to a question from Sir S. Northcote, Mr. G. Duff said that the first of the scholarships had been already gained by a young native of Assam, who was then expected to arrive in England "in a few days." The Viceroy has published to all India the actual establishment of the scholarships, and selections have been already made. I trust that the expression "not finally sanctioned at home," does not imply any chance of rejection, or this would place before the natives a very unfavourable example of the Government mode of business, lead them to regard it as another instance of trifling with their interests, and shake their confidence every rudely. These scholarships have been looked upon very favourably by the natives, and if, after all the hope raised by them, they are not sanctioned, the disappointment will be felt very keenly.

It will be remembered that the additional prayer for these scholarships was proposed in our memorial by Sir H. Edwards (a great friend of the natives, and whose death is a cause of sincere grief), not so much or only for the purpose of enabling young natives to compete for the Civil Service, as to aid the natives to "return in various professions in India, and where by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their rulers."

Sir Herbert, at the end of his speech, appealing to the English people, said, "Will you not endeavour to correct their national errors, their national evils, and will you not hold out to them the right hand of goodwill and friendship; and, having equipped them with all the knowledge which you possess yourselves, send them back with a God-speed to their own country, to be the pioneers of our civilization and progress?"

The correspondence of the Governor-General also lays down in the Resolution No. 360 very clearly the object of these scholarships, as (in the 1st paragraph) "of encouraging natives of India to resort more freely to England for the purpose of perfecting their education, and of studying for the various learned professions, or for the civil and other services in this country;" and (in the 6th paragraph) "not only to afford to the students facilities for obtaining a University degree, and for passing the competitive examination for admission into the Indian Civil Service, but also to enable them to pursue the study of the law, or medicine, or civil engineering, and otherwise to prepare themselves for the exercise of a liberal profession."

It will be seen that the object of these scholarships is a special and a very important one, and having but little or no connection with the present clause for the Civil Service. I earnestly trust that they will not be given up.

When our deputation waited on Sir Stafford Northcote he had said that both of our prayers were important, and should be judiciously combined. It is evident that in suggesting the scholarships, on the one hand, and in proposing the clause in the Governor-General of India Bill, on the other, he has endeavoured, according to his own views, to fulfil in good faith his promise to our deputation; for I trust and believe, from his declarations at different times, that he meant the clause proposed by him to be a provision for the *systematic*, and *not chance*, introduction of the natives "into important positions in the service," and "to educate them to govern themselves and their own affairs;"\* and the natives will always feel gratefully towards him, as to the Duke of Argyll, for taking up his proposals. I hope this paper will be the opportunity of an expression of the views of the members of our Association on the merits of the proposed measure.

I conclude this paper with sincere thankfulness for the justice done, though in a way different from that proposed by us, and without any misgivings about the operation of the clause; for I think we have sufficient reasons to believe that the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Mayo are not the persons to trifle with such important matters. I am sure that the faithful performance of this clause will go far to strengthen the

\* Sir S. Northcote's Speech, 5th May, 1868.



British rule than any other single cause; for the influence of the educated and thinking portion is increasing daily among their countrymen, and the sincere loyalty of these leaders of the masses, together with making the great of the past to understand and take an interest in the English rule, will be the best guarantee for the stability of the British power.

Two English friends have suggested to me a plan which they consider preferable to competition in India. It is to send to England every matriculated native who may express his desire to go within a year of his matriculation, and who may be recommended by his masters or professors as promising and of good character, at the expense of the State, and under the control of the Secretary of State for India, for his good conduct and application to study. He must bind himself to prepare and compete for any one of the different Indian Public Services. The maximum number every year to be 200 or 300, and the age not to exceed seventeen. These youths to be distributed among the different superior colleges, or to have a special college established for them. The first mode appears preferable.

As a commencement, a plan like the above seems to have several advantages, and there can be no objection to its cost.

Should it be found that a larger number of natives succeeded every year in the competition than might be considered politic to admit in the Covenanted Services, the extra number might be made entitled to admission into the Uncovenanted Services at certain grades.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

BOMBAY, 15th April, 1869.

MR. WADYA.—I do not see why the system of selection should be adopted at all. We have sitting on the Legislative Councils at Calcutta, at Bombay, and at Madras, some two or three Native Members who are selected by the Governors; and, as far as I have seen, I think they are selected from the highest class—that is to say, highest class in point of wealth—but with respect to their intellectual powers, I am afraid they cannot be called the very highest. (Hear, hear.) They sit in the Legislative Councils, they give their silent votes—they are very seldom heard to speak—they very seldom take an active part in the administration of the Legislative Councils, and yet the English Government professes to give the natives of India some voice in their own local Legislative Councils. I do not see how the system of selection can work advantageously, for the Governors, in selecting members to sit on the Councils, would be guided generally by favour and partiality, and they would select members from a class having some influence from their position as a wealthy class, and who would not necessarily be by any means fit persons to be entrusted with the duty of Government. I do not see why natives should not stand the same test as Englishmen—let them fight on equal terms—let them be examined in India itself—let them have no concessions made to them at all—let them stand as severe a test as the English candidates do here; and if, having stood that test, the natives have shown themselves fit to be admitted into the Civil Service, let them have a fair chance of admission into it. Under the system of selection, only a small number of natives receive these appointments, and it rests in the discretion of the Governor-General himself how many candidates are to be admitted. If we adopt the competitive system of examinations, India may have a better chance of introducing more native civil servants into its employment. I do not see why more natives should not be admitted, especially when they are qualified men. Upon the whole, I think the system of selection is by no means a fair system for India. I think that the natives should be allowed to undergo examinations in India itself, and if the Government sees they are qualified by their intellectual attainments, let them by all means be admitted into the Civil Service. For my part, I would oppose the system of selection entirely.

Colonel SYKES.—I do not think Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is doing justice to his own views by throwing doubts upon the honesty of purpose of the clause in the Act of Parliament, or upon the real desire of the Government to introduce natives into the Civil Service in India. We have already had experience that, quite independently of any Bill now before the Houses of Parliament, natives of India can enter the service on their own merits alone by the competitive process. We have now here in London four native gentlemen who have stood the brunt of competitive examination with English scholars and who have succeeded—two of them having taken very high places indeed in that competitive examination. There cannot be any doubt therefore about the *bond*

*fide* intention of the Government to really promote natives who prove themselves competent by this competitive process for employment in the Civil Service in India. What does it matter whether natives have this purpose and intention repeated in any Act of Parliament or not? But what does the Act do? I have been talking with those native gentlemen who have come over here, and I find that they have done so entirely at their own expense. It is a very serious drag upon native families in India, many of whom are not in a position to bear such an expense as 200*l.* or 300*l.* a-year for the maintenance of a son in England, running the chance of his not succeeding after all. And what does the Government propose by these scholarships? That at all events nine distinguished natives who have passed certain examinations in India, shall have the means, independently of their family contribution, of coming under the competitive process in this country. Under these circumstances, I think it is not politic for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to throw his weight into the scale of doubt, as to the purpose and intention of the Government to facilitate the introduction of natives into the Civil Service of India. But again, there is another complaint made by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his paper, that the natives of India are not at once put into high places. But in the case of a European gentleman who goes out, what is his position in India when he arrives? He necessarily finds himself at the bottom of the scale. Those native gentlemen who are now going out will be put at the bottom of the scale also. The European gentleman has to rise gradually according to his capacity, his merit, his talent for business, and according to the appreciation of his zeal by the authorities; and the native would be put precisely in the same position. He cannot expect that he should jump up half-a-dozen steps in the scale before he had given proof of his capacity and his zeal. Every one who goes out to India in order to enter into the Civil Service there, must enter at the bottom and must rise in it; and if a gentleman, whether native or European, does not manifest zeal, and does not show capacity, he does not deserve to rise, and does not rise. Natives will stand precisely on the same footing with Europeans, and they will have the same prospects. With regard to the other question of competitive examination in India, I have mixed a good deal with the natives during my lifetime in India, and I know something of their feelings and habits of thought, and I do not hesitate to say that no native of India whatever would be competent to perform the duties of a civil servant in high office in India, unless he had been in England. The man who comes from India to England, and remains here two or three years, returns to India with a totally differently constituted mind—his views become more enlarged, and his ideas on social and political matters become more comprehensive than they could be by his remaining in India—caste and superstitions and prejudices stand in the way. I have always said that natives cannot hope to attain distinction as public servants in India, unless they come over to this country and qualify themselves for such service by the enlargement of their views, which they necessarily acquire by their observations of English life. Under these circumstances, I think the proposal of these scholarships is one calculated to confer great benefit upon the natives, enabling a certain number of natives annually to come to England, without expense to themselves, who probably would not otherwise be able to come at all, and to undergo here a competitive examination to qualify them for office. A young man might have obtained the degree of Master of Arts in one of the Universities in India, and yet be unfitted as an effective functionary of the Civil Service. The Government, therefore, deserve great credit, in my opinion, for the course they have taken, and I have not a doubt of the honesty of their purpose in the matter. As far as the Duke of Argyll is concerned, his views are liberal and just; and as far as regards Lord Lyveden, we all know what his views on the subject are. It is, however, pointed at as a grievance, that natives are not allowed to enter the Public Works department in India. What is the Public Works department, and what are the necessary qualifications of an officer of that department? He must have a knowledge of machinery, a knowledge of construction, a knowledge of mathematical formula, of machinery in motion, and a personal acquaintance with the mode of constructing great works, which cannot be obtained in India. Not ten in a thousand educated natives of India can possibly obtain that knowledge; but by coming to England, where they have the opportunity of going to our great public manufactories, and seeing how the work is done there by the aid of machinery and by the working out of mathematical formula, they become competent to construct bridges or canals or buildings upon sound principles, and acquire a practical knowledge upon all such matters, which they could not possibly acquire in India. Natives have no right to

expect to be appointed to any office connected with the Public Works department of India, unless in the inferior grades. They cannot acquire the knowledge necessary in India. But, on the whole, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has a perfect right to express these opinions, and to quote also the opinions of the native press; and it is quite right that they should be considered by this Association, and that due attention should be paid to them, and due weight given to them.

Mr. J. J. GAZDAR.—With regard to the point brought forward by the honourable member as being an advantage in the proposed plan of scholarships, namely, that the candidates, by being brought over to England, would acquire English habits of thought, and those English views which association with Englishmen would produce, I think the plan once brought forward in this Association, and which was fully discussed at that time, would answer that purpose, while it would be free from the objection to which the plan referred to in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper seems to me to be open. The plan to which I refer was, that there should be first a preliminary competitive examination held in each Presidency, that the successful candidate should then come over to England, and that the subsequent examinations should be passed in England; the candidate thereby reaping all the benefits which a residence in this country would give him. It seems to me that that plan is much preferable to the measure now brought forward. The Duke of Argyll, in introducing the second reading of this Bill, said, that the two chief grievances were, first, that the natives were disinclined to come over to England, and try the chance of passing an examination, which more than any other depends upon chance; and the second grievance was, that the standard of marks for Oriental classical languages was by no means the same as for the European classical languages. I believe the first grievance can be met by holding these preliminary competitive examinations in India, and by allowing the candidates to come over to England on the assurance of their being made civil servants if they passed the subsequent examination in England: and I do not know that they would ever fail in passing it. The other grievance can be met by representing to the Civil Service Commissioners the injustice of giving for languages, the acquisition of which is extremely difficult, a different standard of marks. I do not know what machinery the Government might employ in the way of bringing the Civil Service Commissioners to a sense of justice; but I do not think it would be so difficult as to make it impossible. I believe the principle involved in this measure will be found in the end to be a mischievous principle. I am very far from making any imputation on the Government. I give them credit for the highest motives, and particularly the present Secretary of State for India. I believe, from expressions uttered by him in the House of Lords, he has the most liberal views with regard to the government of India. But, at the same time, I believe that there are dangers to be anticipated from this measure—dangers which are calculated to stand in the way of the employment and the advancement of natives in the Civil Service of India. Supposing this measure to be carried out; supposing you give the Governor-General of India power to select from native gentlemen of intelligence, men to hold those high offices in the State, you directly bring into existence a class of office-seekers, and that is always a danger in every country. You will always find that that class becomes either dangerous or contemptible. If the Government give appointments to those men, they become degrading allies of the Government; if they do not give them appointments, they will become blatant demagogues; and under such a system, public life in India will have a slur cast upon it. Even men of the highest motives will be suspected men; men taking an interest in public questions will be suspected by others of taking an interest in public affairs merely to serve their private ends. Then again, a measure like this is fraught with injustice to English competitors. I have seen in my college life here several of my friends trying to pass the Civil Service examination in England; and I know how much trouble they have to take, how much perseverance they have to apply, in order to become successful in their competition; and I say that to introduce native gentlemen without passing the ordeal which English gentlemen pass here, would be an injustice to English competitors. On the other hand, it would be a humiliation to the natives if they were to accept favour from the Government in cases where Englishmen gain it on account of their merit alone. To make any distinction between English and native civil servants would, in the long run, prove detrimental to both, and would create a discord where there should be harmony. On these grounds, I hope when this measure comes before the House of Commons (which will perhaps come before it when, as the Secretary of State said, the atmo-

sphere of this country will make honourable members feel more in sympathy with their native countrymen) it will be rejected, and, if not rejected, instead of fearing that it will become a dead letter, I hope it will become a dead letter, because the natives of India will prove themselves worthy of Imperial justice only by repudiating Imperial favour.

CHAIRMAN.—I think in such a very small meeting as this, we can hardly do justice to this interesting and valuable paper, dealing as it does with one of the most important questions that ever presented itself to the natives of India or to the English nation. The proposed measure is in reality the inauguration of an entirely new system. It is the firstfruits of the agitation of many years, and as far as the Government is concerned, I think we may fairly say, looking upon it as the mere firstfruits, it is not illiberal. I fully concur with Colonel Sykes in saying that I do not think that it was quite wise or quite gracious in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to express any feeling of distrust in the promises of the Government on this matter in laying this paper before us; because I really do think, if ever there was an indication of sincere and honest purpose, it is to be found in those concessions which have been made. I did not quite follow Colonel Sykes when he referred to an objection taken by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that the natives were not allowed to jump up to the higher offices at once. I do not think Dadabhai Naoroji's remarks go exactly to that extent. No doubt it is quite right that, whether native or English, a man should enter at the bottom of the scale, and gradually rise. It appears to me that the real question cannot be properly discussed in such a small assembly as this. The question is a question of principle; and I honour the natives for the feeling which they have shown, that they do not wish to accept as a favour what they consider to be a right. We have admitted that it is a right. We have admitted that natives of India are eligible to the Civil Service. We have ourselves cast down those barriers which, for very good political reasons, formerly debarr'd them from entering that service, and we have admitted their right to enter the service if they show themselves to be possessed of the requisite qualifications. The only important question raised by the paper is, Shall that admission into the service be accepted by them as a matter of favour dependent on the caprice or will of the Government of the time, or shall it be attained by them through their own exertions and merits, on fair competition with their English fellow-subjects? and now it appears to me that those natives who decline the one and claim the other are occupying a position which does them great credit. Whether that sentiment will be responded to throughout India may be a matter on which I think an expression of opinion of the whole native community should be, by some means or other, invited. There can be no doubt of the intellectual ability of the natives. If we look back to the past history of India, we see it was the conscientious feeling of the dominant race that all the high appointments in the civil administration should be retained exclusively in the hands of the dominant race. That feeling no longer exists. Natives are now seen to compete (and, in the last instance, successfully) with our best English scholars. The political bar to their admission is now apparently removed; and the only question now is, Will they condescend to accept those appointments merely as a matter of favour and become the parasites and subservient flatterers of the Government, or will they enter into fair and open competition with Englishmen, and enter the service on the same footing? That question involves a most important principle; but so small a meeting as this cannot properly discuss it, or take action upon the suggestions made in Dadabhai Naoroji's paper. So that I think it might be fairly proposed that the discussion of this paper should be deferred to some future occasion, in the hope of there being then a larger attendance of members.

MR. BUTTS.—I move that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper be printed and circulated amongst the members, and that we adjourn the discussion till this day fortnight, by which time the members will have come prepared to discuss the question; and then we may have the chance of having a better meeting.

MR. BARNARD.—I second that. I think that would be the best plan, because we can hardly consider this meeting as expressing the feeling of the Association.

The resolution was moved and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was carried unanimously.

MEETING, WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, 1869,

*For the further Discussion of Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S Paper on the Indian Civil Service Clause in the Governor-General of India Bill.*

W. TAYLER, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, it will be in the recollection of those who assembled at our last meeting, which was not very numerously attended, that we postponed this question for future consideration. I have no doubt, though the present assemblage is not particularly numerous, that the questions involved in this paper will elicit some interesting discussion. I would venture to point out, with the view of simplifying the discussion of the matter, that there appear to be two entirely separate questions submitted for our consideration in the paper. One is that connected with the pledge which the natives have already obtained, that they shall be allowed to compete on what are considered to be equal terms with Englishmen. In respect to that it appears from the observations of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that there is a general feeling that that which is supposed to be an equal right is not an equal right, and that certain facilities of time, place, and circumstance, are requisite to place the natives on an equal footing with Englishmen. That is a subject which it appears to me ought to be considered separately, and which ought to receive very careful and very deliberate consideration, if this Society is to take any action in it. To what extent those facilities which are claimed for the natives are reasonable, and such as this Society could ask for on their behalf, is a matter to which very careful consideration should be given. I would therefore propose, for the consideration of this meeting, that that question be at present set aside. Then the second question (quite apart from the right which has been conferred on the natives of competing with Englishmen on equal terms, which all appear to agree in considering a very important right, and one for which all are thankful) is the principle enunciated in this paper, and which I think ought to elicit, and will no doubt elicit, a very interesting discussion in this Society, that is to say, the power given, by Clause 10 of the Governor-General of India Bill, to the authorities in India to appoint natives of India to offices, places, and appointments, without undergoing the Civil Service Examination. For that, as far as it goes, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji expresses his gratitude, and says it is a thing to be thankful for; but as far as the press may be supposed to represent public opinion, there is a very strong feeling that this, instead of being a thing to be thankful for, is a thing to be repudiated. Almost all the extracts from the native press set out in the paper of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji seem to express that feeling, and by one or two speakers at our last meeting that idea was very ably and eloquently supported. It seems to me that as we cannot hope adequately to discuss the two questions to which I have referred, it will be advisable to confine ourselves to the second one. If the extracts from the native press which we have before us, and the feeling expressed by the native members of the Society who addressed us at our last meeting, represent the opinion of the natives for whose benefit this permission has been given, I think it would be almost impossible for the Society to move in the matter till we had been able to ascertain fully the feeling of the natives of India on the subject.

Sir G. Le G. Jacob.—Having been lately suffering from an attack of asthma, I am afraid I shall not be able to remain till the close of the meeting, therefore I rise thus early to offer a few opinions upon the subject. From the paper of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and the discussion upon it, and the extracts from newspapers quoted in his paper, a misunderstanding seems to me to have pervaded the native press and the native community regarding the admission into the Civil Service of those considered by the Government to be worthy of it, without passing the preliminary examination. I have been, as all who know me are aware, a constant friend to the natives of India. Ever since my first entrance into public life, now nearly fifty years ago, I have always stood up for their just rights. Consequently anything I may say ought not to be considered as adverse to the feelings of the Indian people, though it may reflect on some few of them. I have come to the opinion, from hearing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper and the extracts from the native press contained in it read to me (I could not read it myself, being too blind), that the native society of Bombay is labouring under

a great delusion, that they suppose themselves to be the representatives of the whole mighty empire of India of nearly 200,000,000. The educated portion of the Indian community compared to those that are not so trained in our civilization is as one to ten thousand—I might almost say as one to a hundred thousand; and for these to profess to speak for the whole people of India, claiming for them what is only applicable to themselves, is to sacrifice the great rights of the majority to the interests and feelings of the minority. I hold that they have no right to set themselves up in opposition to that which is a boon to the people of India generally, because a few educated men may feel that it gives a different mode of admission into the Civil Service to that which the educated classes would prefer. There have been many great men in India from ancient times downwards. Without going back to Manu, Asoka, Vikramaditya, or Salivahan, those who have read history know that great minds have arisen there from time to time. Never, perhaps, was there a greater man than the Emperor Akbar, the greatest emperor who ever reigned over India. Could Akbar have passed a Civil Service Examination here in London? Could Nana Fumawees, the celebrated minister of the Peshwa? Could Salar Jung, the minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad (to whom, more than perhaps to any other native, we are indebted, if not for the safety of the Indian Empire, at all events for the safety of multitudes of lives), have passed an examination before the Civil Service Commissioners in London? Could the Gwalior chief himself, one of the first chiefs in India, have passed the Civil Service Examination, or could his minister, to whom we are so much indebted, have passed it? Every one who has had to do with India knows that there have been a great many men not educated, not trained to our ways of civilization, but of acute, subtle intellect, and of profound judgment, highly fitted for some of the highest appointments, who could not pass our examination; and yet here are a few men, because they have been trained in our ways and been educated in our colleges, getting up a protest against the boon that the British Government have given to the whole nation of India, forgetting the 999 out of every 1000 of their countrymen, who are entitled to as much consideration as themselves, and to whom this is a great benefit. I think in grumbling against this boon they manifest a captious spirit which does injury with the thinking portion of the English public. Take the case of some of the first Indian statesmen. Could Lord Clive, though he was, perhaps, more soldier than statesman, have passed the Civil Service Examination? Could Sir Thomas Munro, or Sir John Malcolm, or Sir David Ochterlony have passed it? Could Sir James Outram have passed it? Most likely not. Look at some of the first men to whom we are indebted for the preservation and aggrandisement of our Indian Empire,—men who never went through any examination for a particular class of service. To say that the natives of India would be, under this system, let in as it were by the back door, is an absurdity. Were all those great men let in by the back door? I have so much confidence in the sense and judgment of my Indian fellow-subjects, that I think if they will consider and ponder on the subject, they will see what an egregious mistake they have made in finding fault with the Government for doing the very best thing they could possibly have done. Pending the gradual spread and growth of civilization, the Government surely would be unwise to shut out from the higher offices of India those great men whose minds have not been moulded in our own forms. The Government propose to admit them, and yet a few of our educated young men grumble at it. Is that the way to cause the British public to sympathize with them, or to induce the Government to listen to anything they may say? I really think this Association would lose its weight both with the Government and with the people of England—if it has any weight, and it may have a little—if it were to listen to idle complaints of that kind. I have given my reasons why I think them idle, why I consider them captious, and why I should pray my native friends to reconsider the crude opinions they have formed on the subject, and to welcome the gradual extension of the patronage of the Government to men deserving of it, who cannot go through our doorway or pass our examination, whilst the doorway is open to themselves to enter in the same way that any Englishman can enter. If that doorway had been shut I could understand why they should grumble; but it is open—hundreds of men may come from India and try to pass the Civil Service Examination if they like. I would pray my native friends to reconsider this; at any rate, I entreat this Association to take no notice of such a captious complaint. (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I think the gentleman who has just sat down has rather misapprehended the scope and object of this Bill.

Sir G. Le G. JACOB.—I do not know anything of a Bill. I was alluding to the contents of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper, and the discussions thereon at the last meeting.

CHAIRMAN.—There seems to be some confusion in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's paper between the clause of the Bill, which gives permission to the Governor-General to select natives to appointments, with the nine scholarships, which are totally distinct things; but though he has mixed up the two subjects, he refers to the option given to the Governor-General to select any natives without passing an examination.

Sir G. Le G. JACOB.—All my remarks were upon that point, to which, Mr. Chairman, you recommended us to limit this discussion.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I think General Jacob has rather misapprehended the scope and object of this Bill. It is quite clear from the Bill that it is not the intention of the Government to admit to the Civil Service natives possessing lower attainments than are required to be possessed by those who enter by the competitive system. It is not intended to admit a great number of men who have not undergone so high an education. I have every reason to believe, from what I have been told by members of the Council and by the Under-Secretary of State, that the power of appointing young men to the lowest grades in the Civil Service would be hardly ever exercised at all. It is not contemplated by this Bill that it should be exercised; but what is contemplated by this Bill is, that the Governor-General should have the power to appoint natives who had rendered or were capable of rendering important service, or who were men of high position, and probably, generally speaking, men who had occupied judicial positions, or who had been in the Revenue Service—meritorious men of long service and standing—to appoint them to high offices in the Civil Service, which at present he is debarred from doing. That has been the object of the framers of this clause; and though it would, as it is worded, allow of young men being taken from anywhere, and put into the Civil Service, I do not think it was ever intended to give that power to the Governor-General; and if it were brought to the notice of the framers of the clause, I have no doubt there would be no objection to adding some restrictive provision to prevent the clause having that operation. From what I gather as being the feeling of the native members of this Society, I do not understand that their objection to this Bill proceeds at all from any jealous feeling. I understand that it proceeds from a very honourable feeling. They say, We do not want any advantage—we would wish to enter the Civil Service as Englishmen enter the Service, by way of competition—we want no favour—we do not want to be appointed direct.

Sir G. Le G. JACOB.—They are not prevented from entering by competition.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—No; but they have the impression that it would have the effect of checking competition, if young men could be appointed in great numbers direct. (Hear, hear.) As I say, the Bill as worded might give that power, but it is not the intention that it should. It appears to me that the arguments of General Jacob have proceeded on the assumption that these young men are trying to deprive others of an advantage.

Sir G. Le G. JACOB.—They want the system of selection entirely done away with. They want permission to enter by competition only.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—Very well, I agree with them.

Sir G. Le G. JACOB.—Under a system of competition only, how are you to admit men of great eminence, but who could not pass the necessary examination?

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—How are you to know that they are men of eminence till they do pass? How do you know, if you admit them without examination, that they will be men of great eminence? However, the principle of competitive examination has been determined—it is not for us to enter into the question whether competitive examination is a sound system or not, that has been determined—and it is quite beyond the scope of this discussion to enter into that question.

CHAIRMAN.—Yes; I proposed that we should not enter into that question.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—The objection entertained by these young men to the principle of selection, proceeds, I think, from a very high, honourable, and generous impulse; it means merely this, We do not want any favour allowed us, let us all come in equally with Europeans in competition. And I do not think it would be desirable to give the Governor-General power to appoint young men to the Civil Service at the bottom of the list, because I think it exceedingly probable his selections would be made merely by favour and interest. On what other principle could he admit a young man of eighteen? He could have no merits in himself to qualify him. What would gain him admission would be the interest that his friends, and the interest



that patrons high up in the Civil Service, would make for him. As to the scholarships, that is a totally distinct matter. Those scholarships, that is a totally distinct matter. Those scholarships are to enable young natives to pass two years in England. Then this is a question deserving consideration, which one of these young gentlemen, in a conversation I had with him just now, mooted. Would it be better to have facilities for passing a competitive examination in India at the three Presidency towns, or give such a number of scholarships as would induce young men to come to England and prepare for the competitive examination there? I do certainly think it is very desirable that those gentlemen who are to administer the law in India to natives and Englishmen alike, should have the benefit of an acquaintance with English habits of thought and feeling, which can only be obtained by residence in England; but whether that experience of English life can be adequately acquired by passing a competitive examination in India, and residing in England two years before the final examination, or whether they should come in the first instance to England and pass the competitive examination there, is a question on which I should think some discussion would be very interesting.

CHAIRMAN.—I was proposing that, as that is so large a question, we should avoid entering upon it now.

Captain PALMER.—The clause does not empower the Governor-General to admit natives to the Civil Service, but to "appointments."

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I say the Bill does not contemplate it, but these young men fancy that it does.

CHAIRMAN.—The clause is as follows:—"Whereas it is expedient that additional facilities should be given for the employment of natives of India in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India: Be it enacted that nothing in the 'Act for the Government of India,' 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 106, or in the 'Act to confirm certain Appointments in India, and to amend the Law concerning the Civil Service,' 24 and 25 Vict., cap. 54, or in any other Act of Parliament or other law now in force in India, shall restrain the authorities in India, by whom appointments are or may be made to offices, places, and employments, in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India, from appointing any native of India to any such office, place, or employment, although such native shall not have been admitted to the said Civil Service of India in manner in Section 32 of the first-mentioned Act provided, but subject to such rules and regulations as the Governor-General in Council may from time to time prescribe, under the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council."

Captain PALMER.—So that it is to appointments and not to the Civil Service.

CHAIRMAN.—It comes to the same thing.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—Yes. The Governor-General might appoint a man as assistant, and after being assistant for some time, he would rise up. That would be virtually appointing him to the Civil Service. But, as I have already said, from conversation I have had with Members of the Council, and with the Under-Secretary of State, I know that that is not the intention, and that the object of the clause is to give high appointments to deserving native uncovenanted officers. Therefore these young men are under a misapprehension, I think, on the subject.

Dr. DUTT.—I am astonished to find that clause 10 of the Governor-General of India Bill, which has passed the House of Lords and has gone to the House of Commons—the clause which gives power to the Governor-General of India to appoint natives of India to certain offices without a certificate from the Civil Service Commissioners—has been received with dislike in India, as well as by some of the native members of this Society. It appears that those gentlemen think that the system of competitive examination is the only means of getting the best men for the Indian Civil Service, and that the people of India ought to enter into the Civil Service by that door, and by no other. I myself am an advocate of the competitive system; but I never considered it to be the only means of getting the best men for the service. In this country, as we all know, the competitive system prevails—the junior appointments are generally given by competition; but the great ministers of state, ambassadors, and judges, and many other high officers, do not obtain their offices by competition. No one doubts the ability of those men, though they have not passed the Civil Service Examination. The distinction which now exists between the covenanted and the uncovenanted service in India is a great disgrace to our Indian Administration, and the sooner such distinction ceases to exist the better. There is a growing feeling amongst Indians, and especially amongst European residents in India, against such

an exclusive service as the Indian Civil Service; and therefore I consider this clause as most important, because this will be the road from the uncovenanted to the covenanted service. This clause is the only means of doing justice to these uncovenanted Civilians, principal Sudder Amins, Sudder Amins, and Judges of the Small Causes Court, who are not allowed at present to occupy certain offices; those offices being reserved for the civil servants. One of the members at the last meeting said, "On the other hand it would be a humiliation to the natives if they were to accept favour from the Government in cases where Englishmen gain it on account of their merit alone."

CHAIRMAN.—Sir Charles Wingfield tells us that, from information he has received, that is not the intention of this Bill; therefore for us to be discussing the question on the assumption that it is the intention, is only a waste of time, and we shall be only arguing with a shadow.

DR. DUTT.—I am sure it was simply from misunderstanding that such remarks were made, and I hope when the clause is thoroughly understood, it will be considered to be the greatest boon. Then it has been said, if the Governor-General is given such power, there will be favouritism in the Indian Civil Service.

CHAIRMAN.—That again is the supposition that young men are selected without going through the competitive examination.

DR. DUTT.—I mean in promoting uncovenanted civilians to the Civil Service. One gentleman at the last meeting said the Governor-General appoints men of inferior talent to the Legislative Council of India. (Hear, hear.) As far as I know the composition of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Governor-General could not have selected a better set of men than are now in the Council. I do not know anything about the members of the Bombay or Madras Councils. As for the Indian Legislative Council, there are some members not very able; but some of them are really men of very great ability. I do not think they are actually appointed by favouritism, or because they are men of wealth; but the fact is this, the Governor-General considers that the men who have large estates under their own administration are sure to have some talent for administration in themselves. I do not think that passing the Civil Service Examination would be a good test that a man would make a good legislator. It has never yet been considered necessary that, before a man put himself forward as a candidate for a borough, he should have passed a Civil Service Examination; and, similarly, the taking of a degree at the University would be no test that he would be a good legislator. It would be desirable that the Governor-General should have an opportunity of appointing men who are really very able men, who have distinguished themselves.

CHAIRMAN.—In another minute I shall have to tell you that your ten minutes have expired.

DR. DUTT.—I will only say this: the clause is very ambiguous, and I would beg to suggest that a deputation from the Society wait on the Government, to ask that the clause should be defined in such a way that there may be no ambiguity. I beg to propose that as a resolution.

CHAIRMAN.—Till we get some further explanation of the intention of the clause, discussion on the subject is very profitless.

DR. DUTT.—It does not say whether he shall enter into the uncovenanted service, or whether he shall get those offices which hitherto have been given to covenanted civil servants—this is merely permissive; but I should propose that we should ask that another clause should be added, making it obligatory that a certain number of annual appointments should be made to the Civil Service from the uncovenanted Service.

CHAIRMAN.—That involves a separate question.

Colonel FRENCH.—Perhaps the Council will ask Sir Charles Wingfield to deal with this matter in the House of Commons, so as to remove the ambiguity which now exists.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I have an amendment to propose on this Bill when it comes on, namely, to refer the whole matter to a Select Committee. That clause would then be dealt with amongst the others.

Colonel FRENCH.—I understand the case to be simply this. The Civil Service, from its infancy up to this time, has been a close borough. Formerly entrance to it was through Haileybury, now it is through a competitive examination. Now, permission is proposed to be given to the Governor-General to appoint deserving men without their undergoing the Civil Service Examination, which hitherto he has been restrained from doing. I quite go with General Jacob in saying that many natives who have served

in the up-country for many years, but who cannot speak a word of English, would make far more valuable, or as valuable, public servants as any educated natives could be. What can your competition wallahs, who have lived all their lives in Bombay, for instance, have learnt of the interior of India—they can really know nothing at all about it. If they run up to Poonah at all, it is more for fun than anything else. I think we might ask the Council to request Sir Charles Wingfield to deal with it in the House. He has given notice that he will move for a Select Committee. If that Select Committee should be appointed, we could be examined if we chose.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I think it desirable that all misconception as to the scope and purport of that clause should be cleared up as to what kind of patronage it is meant to bestow on the Governor-General. All seem to be agreed that it is desirable that deserving natives of eminence, natives of the uncovenanted service, should be appointed to high posts; but all seem to think that it is not desirable that young men should be appointed to the Civil Service.

CHAIRMAN.—If the meeting will allow me, before the discussion is carried to any greater length, I would suggest whether, as the matter now stands, it can be carried on to any profitable issue. If the intention of the framers of this clause is that which Sir Charles Wingfield has indicated, we are discussing and arguing upon false premises. After what Sir Charles Wingfield has told us, I have no doubt that this clause is not framed with the view of giving the Governor-General permission to admit young natives untried and untested into the Service, but to give a most valuable permission to the Governor-General, *viz.* the power of selecting to particular posts, under particular circumstances, men whom he may consider eminently fitted for those particular posts. To that I think no single man, young or old, rich or poor, can object—it is a most important permission, which, in the hands of a responsible Governor-General, would be exercised, I have no doubt, for the great benefit of the country. I think it would be well for us to reserve the expression of our opinion upon the subject for the time when we are sure of what is meant by the clause. Perhaps one of the members will move that steps be taken by this Society, whether through Sir Charles Wingfield's exertions in Parliament or by petition or by deputation, to endeavour to obtain some proviso added to that clause to indicate that the meaning of it is not to give the Governor-General the power of appointing young and untried men to the service. When we have the meaning of the clause defined, we can approach the subject with some chance of a successful and satisfactory discussion; but till we understand the real meaning and intention of the framers of the clause, we are arguing against imaginary giants, and beating the wind.

MR. WADYA.—I think one element has been left out of consideration in assuming that the clause has the meaning indicated by Sir Charles Wingfield, and that is the speech of the Duke of Argyll. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been discussing not so much the Governor-General of India Bill as the speech of the Duke of Argyll which refers to this question of nine scholarships: his saying in that speech that nine scholarships were insufficient, leads to the conclusion that he meant that there should be a large exercise of this power of appointing to the Civil Service.

After some further conversation, Mr. WADYA moved, "That the secretary be requested to call a meeting of the Council on Saturday next, at three o'clock, to take steps (either by availing themselves of the services of Sir Charles Wingfield in Parliament, or by deputation, or by a petition, or by some other means) to obtain a definition of the intention of Clause 10 of the Governor-General of India Bill."

MR. GAZDAR seconded the motion.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

AFTERNOON MEETING, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1869.

MAJOR-GENERAL C. F. NORTH IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by P. M. TAIT, Esq., F.R.S.,

*On the Population and Mortality of Bombay.*

MR. TAYLER communicated to the meeting that Sir Bartle Frere was sorry he could not be certain of attending, on account of an engagement, and if he did not, he (Mr. Tayler) may inform the meeting of his intentions.

## I.—Introductory.

I received a short time ago from Bombay the Annual Report for 1867 of the Municipal Commissioner, and the Annual Reports of the Health Officer and Executive Engineer for the same year.

I now propose submitting to the Association a few facts arising out of the Health Officer's Report.

But first, for the information of my non-Indian hearers, I may be permitted very briefly to give some idea of the geographical position, history, and general aspect of this the second city in point of population in the British Empire, now only a few hours by wire, and under three weeks by rail and steamboat from London.

Bombay, situate in lat.  $18^{\circ} 57' N.$ , long.  $72^{\circ} 52' E.$ , is one of a group of islands lying off the Concan coast, a narrow tract of land on the west coast of Hindostan.

Of these islands the following are the most important, proceeding from north to south, viz.:—Bassin, Dravi, Versova, Salsette, Trombay, Bombay, Old Woman's Island, Kohiba, Elephanta, Butcher's Island, Gibbet Island, Karanja.\*

The island of Bombay, which is about 850 miles west from Calcutta, and 180 miles further south, is in the form of a trapezoid, the side next the mainland being 11 miles long, and that next the sea 6 miles long. Its area is estimated by different authorities at 16, 18, and 21 square miles, while the greatest breadth of the island, according to Dr. Buist, does not exceed 5 miles.

Bombay is connected by causeways with Salsette on the north and Colaba on the south. The town is built chiefly on the south-east portion of the island, and covers also the whole of Colaba.

The word Bombay has been supposed to be a corruption of the Portuguese *Bom Bahia*, "good haven." On the other hand, there is evidence, it appears, that the name was in use long before the arrival of the Portuguese, who first occupied the place in 1532. The Marhatta name of Bombay is *Mumbai*, which is from *Mahina*, "Great Mother," a title of Devi, still traceable in the name of *Mahim*, a town lying on the north of the island.

It is some years since I was in Bombay, but I can recollect that the approach from the sea is very fine. Entering the harbour—which, by the way, is a magnificent one, and capacious enough to shelter almost any number of vessels—to the east arise the ghats and intermediate hills, their sides belted with rich jungle, and summits broken into various fantastic shapes.†

The town itself does not present so palatial an aspect as Calcutta seen from the Maidan. The first land sighted is usually Colaba; then Grant's Buildings and the Fort, with its spacious esplanade, come into view. On a nearer acquaintance it is found that in the Fort are located the principal banks and merchants' offices, also those of the Government; that towards the north, in the direction of the harbour, lies the native town; beyond that Mazagon; and Malabar Hill, the fashionable quarter for European residents, to the north-west, about five miles from the Fort.

\* The names of these islands and of other localities mentioned in this paper are differently spelt by different authorities; thus no particular rule is attempted to be laid down here.

† I find the following amongst my notes on Bombay. The date is 1861:—

"Perhaps one of the best bird's-eye views of Bombay is that from the top of the Cathedral in the Fort, to which I ascended this morning. The prospect is very fine, and more diversified than that from eminences overlooking Calcutta or Madras, and is only inferior to that from the summit of the square tower at Colombo, Ceylon. Here there is a fine combination of wood and water, and lofty hills all around, filled with rich jungle, the tops assuming often fantastic shapes. Looking towards the east from the Cathedral, there is below, Bombay Green, the Town Hall (which is the only building in all Bombay of any architectural pretension), then the Castle and Fort, beyond, the Harbour and shipping. Towards the west is the Esplanade and Back Bay. To the south are the Custom House and Pier, the Docks and Dockyard, and beyond, the island of Colaba. On the north is a continuation of the Esplanade, beyond, the native town and bazars, the district of Byculla and Mazagon, and towards the left in this direction on the coast the beautiful and fashionable suburb of Malabar Hill, the view from the summit of which, in the direction of Back Bay, is named by enthusiastic admirers of these regions on the same day with the Bay of Naples. I will not go so far as that, but the prospect at early morning is an exceedingly fine one, and I do not wonder that the Bombay folks are proud of their Presidency town. There are superb sites for dwelling-houses on Malabar Hill, but I have not as yet seen a really fine house in the place. They all seem to be built on the model of a double-roomed tent, tiled, sloping roofs; roughly put up houses, in which it would be impossible to exist were the heat anything approaching what it is in Calcutta. In the best of the Bombay houses they have punkahs only in the dining-room; nor, although this is the hot season, when everybody escapes to the hills, have I found it unpleasantly warm. In Calcutta at this time of the year punkahs are going day and night, and if a lady move from one room to another, a servant follows her with a huge fan to keep up a perpetual circulation."

One great attraction to European residents in Bombay, besides its importance in sanitary respects, is the extreme facility with which it is possible to effect a change of climate.

There are, especially, Poonah, Matheran, and Mahableshwar, within easy distance. Poonah, 119 miles in a south-easterly direction, standing 2000 feet above the sea-level, in a climate said to be singularly good and invigorating for European constitutions, may be reached by rail in about eight hours, for a first-class fare of fourteen rupees. To reach Matheran it is necessary to book to Narel, a distance of 53 miles from Bombay, by the same line—the Great Indian Peninsula; thence by saddle or palanquin-carriage. The whole time occupied is six to eight hours, and the cost of the journey only a few rupees. At Matheran the temperature is said to be mild, the scenery lovely, the air laden with the perfume of flowers, the atmosphere pure and buoyant.

Mahableshwar is beyond Poonah 75 miles by one route, and about 100 by another, and may be reached by horse, palanquin, or dāk carriage. Here there is a sanatorium; mutton equal to Exmoor can be had at 4d. a lb.; there are plenty of English vegetables; the potatoes are said to be the best in India, and strawberries in the season sell for twenty dozen the rupee!

But I pass on to the matter more immediately in hand.

The population of Bombay has been estimated at different periods as follows:—

Year.	Population.	Authority.	Year.	Population.	Authority.
1664	10,000	..	1833-34	234,032	{Senior Magistrate of Police.
1679	60,000	Fryer.	1849	566,119	Baynes.
1716	16,000*	..	1864	816,562	Leith.
1814-15	11,000†	..			
1814-15	221,550‡	..			

To Sir Bartle Frere, late Governor of Bombay, we are mainly indebted for the census taken in 1864, which may be considered as correct an enumeration of the population of the island as is possible under present circumstances in India.

His Excellency's Census Act having been sanctioned by the Government of India, was warmly approved by the educated of all classes resident in Bombay. The leading members of the community belonging to each nationality we are told, held meetings amongst their people explanatory of a census, and issued circulars calling on all classes to give active aid to the enumerators. A Parsee gentleman, Dorabhy Framjee Kusara, circulated at his own expense 2000 copies of a pamphlet explanatory of the census, its objects, and uses.

The schedules for the enumeration were printed in English, Marathee, Goozerathee, and Hindostanee.

There were altogether 921 persons employed in the enumeration, being in the ratio of 1 for every 968 inhabitants—the ratio of enumerators at the last census in England being 1 in 642 of the population—and of the enumerators 331 wrote in English, 147 in Goozerathee, 423 in Marathee, and 20 in Hindostanee.

As in Calcutta at the last census, a number of the poorest and most ignorant classes, fearing some enlarged scheme of taxation, hid themselves with their families, and thus avoided enumeration.

The tabulation was performed in the office of the Commissioner of Police.

## II.—Area and Contents of Bombay.

Dr. Leith, in his Report, while admitting that there is no very accurate survey of Bombay in existence, says that the surface of the united islands of Bombay and Colaba is reckoned to be about 18·62 square miles.

The islands are parted, for police and registration purposes, into six divisions, indicated by letters of the alphabet; and these divisions are subdivided into sections or districts, some of the latter being still further divided into sub-sections.

There is a seventh division, called the *Water Division*, which is not subdivided.

\* The Fort only included, and a portion of the Island.

The Fort only.

‡ The whole Island.

Casting the eye over the map, it would appear that the sectional divisions marked A 1 and A 2, including Colaba and the Fort, and the whole of the B and C Divisions, which chiefly form what is called the Native town, are the most densely populated. The D Division, having the sea on its south-west and north, and including all between Malabar Point and the Hornby vallade, and the whole of the E Division, which includes Parell and Mazagaon, are apparently of a suburban character. The F Division, which lies to the north and north-west of the island, is, with certain exceptions, rural.

Independently of public institutions, there were in Bombay, on the day of the census, 24,206 inhabited houses, of which 17,530 were tiled and 6676 were thatched huts. Comparing these figures with similar returns for Calcutta, we find the following:—

CALCUTTA.			BOMBAY.		
Pucka.	Thatched.	Total.	Tiled.	Thatched.	Total.
15,975	42,917	58,892	17,530	6,676	24,206

Of the Calcutta "pucka" houses nearly one-half were what are called "bungalows," of one floor only, and nearly one-half of two floors; while in Bombay 62 per cent. of the tiled houses have upper stories, and 22 per cent. have more than one upper floor. This partly accounts for the fact that, while the population of Calcutta is only about one-half that of Bombay, the number of inhabited houses appears to be double.

There is no return of the number or length of the streets in Bombay; but the mean width is given at 26½ feet, while in Calcutta the average width of the streets is upwards of 38½ feet.

There were on the night of the census lying in the harbour of Bombay, on board of vessels, 32,582 persons of all ages, against 15,384 persons on board of vessels lying off Calcutta on the night of the census there in 1866. The number of craft of every description off Calcutta on that occasion was 3309; but the number in the harbour of Bombay on the night of the census is not given.

### III.—Population.

The following was the population of Bombay and Colaba on the night of the 1st February, 1864, viz. :—

Buddhist or Jain .. ..	8,021	Jew .. .. .	2,872
Brahmin .. .. .	30,604	Native Christian .. ..	19,903
Lingnet .. .. .	1,598	Indo-European .. ..	1,891
Bhatia .. .. .	21,771	European .. .. .	8,415
Hindoo of other Caste ..	491,540	Chinese .. .. .	358
Hindoo Outcaste .. ..	32,434		
Mussulman .. .. .	145,880	Total of all Races ..	816,562
Negro-African .. ..	2,074		
Parsee .. .. .	49,201*		

This motley assemblage, although living in juxtaposition, are separated by a gulf wide as the poles asunder in social and religious matters. The first four of the above classes form that portion of the community which religiously abstains from eating animal food. Then the Hindoos of other castes and the Hindoos out of caste are subdivided into various castes, the members of which will not eat or intermarry with each other, and are subject to their own traditions and rules. The Mussulman at sundown turns his face towards Mecca, and worships; to him certain kinds of animal food are unclean, and he is supposed religiously to abstain from all intoxicating liquors. The Parsee, on the other hand, prostrates himself before the rising sun, and is under no restriction as to what he shall eat. He lives much as a European, and is even said to be very fond of champagne. The Christian alone, by his religion and habits of social life, is free to eat, drink, or intermarry with any race or nationality living on the island.

\* The total population of Parsees scattered over the globe is estimated at 150,000 only.—Vide 'Parsee Calendar for 1865,' published in Bombay.

Classifying the above races according to creed, we have the following results, the percentage applicable to each creed to the total population being also indicated :—

Creed.	Population.	Per-centage to Total Population.	Creed.	Population.	Per-centage to Total Population.
Brahminical ..	577,947	70·78	Christian .. ..	30,209	3·70
Mahomedan ..	147,954	18·12	Buddhist .. ..	8,379	1·02
Zoroastrian ..	49,201	6·03	Jewish .. ..	2,872	0·35

Thus nearly three-fourths of the population are of the Brahminical faith, worshipping many gods; nearly a fifth are Mahomedans recognizing one God only; upwards of one-twentieth of the population are followers of Zoroaster, with a duality of gods. Then there are the Buddhists, comprising 1 in every 100 of the inhabitants; the Christians nearly 4 in every 100; the remainder being Jews, in the proportion of 1 to every 300 of the inhabitants.

The following Table indicates the number of males and females, according to age, in different castes and races, on the night of the 1st February, 1864 :—

CASTE OR RACE.	Total of each Caste or Race.	Males of all Ages in each Caste or Race.	MALES ACCORDING TO AGES.				
			Days 1 to 30.	Months 1 to 23.	Years 2 to 13.	Years 14 to 44.	Years 45 and over.
Buddhist or Jain ..	8,021	5,745	1	75	857	4,185	627
Brahmin .. ..	30,604	21,688	29	201	2,809	15,095	3,464
Lingnet .. ..	1,598	1,045	..	11	136	759	139
Bhatia .. ..	21,771	13,605	11	156	2,149	8,813	1,876
Hindoo of other Caste	491,540	324,456	303	4,580	50,545	224,095	44,333
Hindoo Outcaste ..	32,434	19,980	19	302	3,515	14,049	2,095
Mussulman .. ..	145,880	91,933	103	1,503	15,573	60,925	13,829
Negro-African .. ..	2,074	1,504	4	70	224	1,019	187
Parsee .. ..	49,201	28,098	70	823	5,873	16,486	4,846
Jew .. ..	2,872	1,517	2	50	441	829	195
Native Christian ..	10,903	13,263	26	331	2,265	8,975	1,666
Indo-European .. ..	1,891	1,117	1	39	328	552	197
European .. ..	8,415	6,762	5	76	508	5,791	382
Chinese .. ..	358	337	..	4	37	264	32
All Races ..	816,562	530,450	574	8,311	85,260	362,437	73,868

CASTE OR RACE.	Females of all Ages in each Caste or Race.	FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGES.				
		Days 1 to 30.	Months 1 to 23.	Years 2 to 13.	Years 14 to 44.	Years 45 and over.
Buddhist or Jain .. ..	2,276	2	72	662	1,293	247
Brahmin .. ..	8,916	21	243	2,078	5,125	1,449
Lingnet .. ..	553	..	13	153	296	91
Bhatia .. ..	8,766	6	257	2,093	4,717	1,693
Hindoo of other Caste	167,084	406	4,395	40,000	97,887	24,396
Hindoo Outcaste .. ..	12,454	14	389	2,948	7,533	1,570
Mussulman .. ..	53,947	86	1,583	13,491	30,422	8,365
Negro-African .. ..	570	4	19	161	315	71
Parsee .. ..	21,103	36	762	5,749	10,796	3,760
Jew .. ..	1,355	2	91	431	614	217
Native Christian .. ..	6,640	23	239	1,650	3,700	1,028
Indo-European .. ..	774	2	26	213	422	111
European .. ..	1,638	1	67	437	947	201
Chinese .. ..	21	..	..	2	19	..
All Races ..	286,112	603	8,156	70,068	164,086	43,199



Here, as in the case of Calcutta, the first thing that strikes the eye on glancing over the Table is the disproportion of the sexes. This is greatest in the Chinese; the explanation possibly being that these may be usually, as at Calcutta, married to Christian females, who are included under that class.

The following is the proportion of males to every 100 females, as applicable to each class or nationality, computed to the nearest unit, *viz.* :—

Buddhist or Jain .. ..	252	Negro-African .. ..	264
Brahmin .. ..	243	Parses .. ..	133
Lingaet .. ..	189	Jew .. ..	112
Bhatia .. ..	148	Native Christian .. ..	200
Hindoo of other Caste .. ..	194	Indo-European .. ..	144
Hindoo Outcaste .. ..	160	European .. ..	409
Mussulman .. ..	170	Chinese .. ..	1605

The general result indicating an average of 185·38 males to every 100 females; while in England and Wales, in 1861, the proportion of the sexes was nearly equal.

The proportion of males to every 100 females in Bombay, at different ages, was as follows, *viz.* :—

Days 1 to 30.	Months 1 to 23.	Years 2 to 13.	Years 14 to 44.	Years 45 and upwards.	All Ages.
95·19	101·90	121·68	220·89	170·99	185·38

From which it would appear that up to the age of 13 the proportion of the sexes is nearly equal, the disparity increasing from that age to 45, when it begins to diminish. The explanation may be the extreme jealousy, or rather reserve, of most Oriental peoples, in revealing the number of those female inmates of their dwellings, who have attained that ripe period of life when they are supposed to be most attractive to the other sex.

The population, as above, formed 101,890 families, and the following Table indicates the number of families to a house, and of floors to a house, and the number of persons to a family, a house, and a floor, *viz.* :—

Population on Shore.	Families.	Houses and Outhouses.	Floors.	Floors to a House.	Families to a House.	Persons to a		
						Family.	House.	Floor.
783,980	101,890	25,664	42,995	..	3·970	7·694	30·587*	18·253

The average number of persons to one family given above is somewhat exaggerated, because it appears that hospitals, prisons, and other public institutions have been treated as *families*; and, besides, attached to the larger dwelling-houses in Bombay there are generally outhouses, where servants with their families are accommodated, the whole establishment being returned in the schedules as one family.

Portions of Bombay appear to be more thickly populated than even the densest districts of East London.

Thus, while to the north of the island at Sec there are upwards of 1225 square yards of standing ground for each person, in those divisions comprising more especially the Native town there are a little over 5 square yards for each person. In the most densely-peopled districts of London there is an area of upwards of 10 square yards applicable to each person.

The census of Bombay is superior to that taken in Calcutta, inasmuch as it classifies the inhabitants according to occupation.

\* The 'Times of India' estimates that there are 36 persons to a house.

The following Table, indicating the mean area of standing ground available for each person, may be interesting to those of my hearers from Bombay, who are familiar with the localities:—

	Area of Section.	Mean Area for each Person.		Area of Section.	Mean Area for each Person.
	acres.	sq. yards.		acres.	sq. yards.
Colaba .. ..	238·26	60·2	Girgaon .. ..	97·82	22·0
Fort, Southern ..	107·28	211·7	Khetwaree .. ..	119·17	19·8
Fort, Northern ..	92·86	11·4	Chaoptee .. ..	84·91	66·5
Esplanade .. ..	498·52	306·2	Walkeshwur ..	547·81	262·7
Market .. ..	84·32	5·4	Mahaluxmee ..	556·52	294·6
Mandwee .. ..	78·49	9·2	Mazagaon .. ..	267·48	59·4
Chukla .. ..	48·15	5·6	Tarwaree .. ..	263·16	134·6
Oomburkharee ..	85·69	6·6	Kamatheepoor ..	663·22	39·3
Dongaree .. ..	67·86	5·4	Parell .. ..	1412·81	976·6
Dhobestulao ..	85·67	5·8	Seoree .. ..	560·81	538·1
Phunuswaree ..	78·37	16·8	Seo .. ..	3057·93	1225·4
Bhooleshwur ..	71·86	6·9	Mahim .. ..	1413·38	351·5
Kharatulao ..	41·05	8·5	Wurlee .. ..	1252·26	593·6
Koombarwara ..	43·51	9·1			

The occupations bringing a livelihood to the people are tabulated under 77 heads, and these again are aggregated under the following 14 different heads, the proportion to every 1000 of the population belonging to the latter being as follows, calculated to the nearest unit, viz. :—

Food and condiments (as bakers and butchers) .. ..	101
Clothing (as tailors and weavers) .. ..	91
Domestic service .. ..	67
Shelter (as masons and plumbers) .. ..	40
Furniture utensils and fuel .. ..	18
Luxuries and dissipation .. ..	61
Restoration of health .. ..	12
Instruction (as priests and teachers) .. ..	18
Trade and exchange of property .. ..	57
Protection of life and property .. ..	31
Locomotion and transport .. ..	105
Skilled labour and trade .. ..	113
Unskilled labour .. ..	234
Unproductive (as annuitants and beggars) .. ..	52*

Thus nearly one-fourth of the whole population are unskilled labourers, referable to several of the above classes; 10 per cent. are gardeners, fishermen, grocers, cooks, butchers, and bakers; 10 per cent. are employed in connection with locomotion and transport, as maritime men, bullock and horse-drivers; 11 per cent. are writers and accountants, and skilled labourers; and 9 per cent. are employed in connection with clothing, as tailors and weavers.

Elaborate Tables are given in the Report indicating the number of persons

\* We find then that the population is made up as follows:—

Merchants, bankers, civilians, &c., and their families ..	53,639
Shopkeepers and their families .. ..	176,767
Artisans and labourers .. ..	317,543
Domestic and other servants .. ..	94,116
Professions—doctors, priests, writers, teachers, &c. ..	53,750
Boatmen and harbourmen .. ..	53,974
Soldiers, policemen, bannas, ramossees .. ..	33,979
Prostitutes, musicians, and beggars .. ..	40,246

belonging to each caste or race following different occupations. From these we extract the following curious particulars:—

## BUDDHIST OR JAIN, 8021.

Labourers .. .. .	2064
Merchants .. .. .	1839*

## BRAHMINS, 30,604.

Beggars or paupers .. ..	10,370	Schoolmasters and teachers ..	720
Writers and accountants ..	5973	Merchants* .. .. .	1728
Priests .. .. .	2606	Domestic servants .. ..	1795

## BHATIA, 21,771.

Merchants .. .. .	5582	Domestic servants .. ..	1799
Dealers or workers in iron ..	2389	Clothiers and drapers .. ..	1614
Writers and accountants ..	1805	Cotton workers or retailers ..	1232

## HINDOOS OF OTHER CASTES, 491,540.

Labourers .. .. .	153,386	Beggars and vagrants .. ..	6917
Domestic servants .. ..	27,232	Independent .. .. .	6387
Merchants .. .. .	13,241		

## HINDOO OUTCASTES, 32,434.

Labourers .. .. .	12,410	Domestic servants .. ..	2686
Workers in leather .. ..	4938	Beggars .. .. .	1260

## MUSSULMANS, 145,880.

Labourers .. .. .	18,129	Beggars .. .. .	8055
Maritime .. .. .	13,987	Independent .. .. .	4322
Domestic servants .. ..	9968		

## PARSEES, 49,201.

Writers and accountants ..	7180	Priests .. .. .	3580
Merchants .. .. .	6149	Independent .. .. .	3117
Workers and dealers in wood	5906	Beggars .. .. .	None
Domestic servants .. ..	5332		

## NATIVE CHRISTIANS, 19,903.

Cooks .. .. .	3026	Tailors .. .. .	1401
Domestic servants .. ..	2504	Writers and accountants ..	2229
Fishermen or fishmongers ..	1162	Labourers .. .. .	1277
Gardeners, &c. .. ..	1663		

## INDO-EUROPEANS, 1891.

Writers and accountants ..	585	Drapers .. .. .	210
Domestic servants .. ..	221	Military and pensioners ..	138
Merchants .. .. .	212		

## EUROPEANS, 8415.

Maritime .. .. .	2906	Merchants .. .. .	464
Military .. .. .	1258	Engine-drivers, stokers, &c.	202
Writers and accountants ..	1597		

Of the Negro-African population the large proportion is maritime, and of the Chinese nearly one-fifth. The Jews are chiefly workers in wood, and domestic servants.

Caste appears to have little or no influence in determining the occupation of the Hindoo population of Bombay. Of the 77 different callings in the Table, there were only 18 in which Brahmins were not found engaged, and in at least 5 of these they could have been employed without loss of caste. There were Hindoos of other castes following all the avocations in the Table, except that of priest, civil engineer, and leechman,† the latter being alone objected to. As to Mussulmans, there is not an occupation in the Table in which they were not found engaged.

\* Usually bankers also.

† The application and breeding of leeches is followed by Mussulmans and outcaste Hindoos only.

The following Table is curious, indicating the proportion per cent. of beggars to the total population belonging to each class or nationality.

CASTE.	Number of Beggars, Vagrants, and Paupers.	Per cent. to Total Population under each Caste.
Brahmin .. .. .	10,370	33·88
Lingnet .. .. .	135	8·45
Buddhist or Jain .. ..	140	1·74
Bhatia .. .. .	81	·37
Hindoo of other Caste ..	6,917	1·41
Hindoo Outcasts .. ..	1,260	3·88
Mussulman .. .. .	8,055	5·52
Negro African .. ..	50	2·41
Native Christian .. ..	38	·19

Thus, of the Brahmin population upwards of one-third were beggars, and little more than 2 per cent. teachers or schoolmasters. Amongst the 50,000 Parsees there was not one beggar.

The 32,582 persons enumerated on board craft in the harbour does not include those who slept on shore. The total harbour population was 51,836, composed as follows, chiefly:—

Hindoos .. .. .	53·6 per cent.
Mussulmans .. .. .	34·5    "
Europeans .. .. .	8·0     "

Of the whole population of Bombay, little more than one-fifth were born on the island, but upwards of 89 per cent. were born within the Presidency, and 97½ per cent. on Indian territory. The proportion born in Europe was a little over 6 in every 1000.

#### IV.—Mortality.

The Health Officer, in his Report for 1867, while urging the necessity for a fresh enumeration of the inhabitants, says, he has very grave doubts whether the results given for 1864, of which the preceding part of this paper is an analysis, represent truly the existing population, and suggests that a census should be taken at two different periods of the year, viz. in February and July, so as to correct any errors which may arise owing to the fluctuating elements of which the population is composed. Further, he remarks that the registration of births is most unsatisfactory, adding that although it was admitted that all the deaths were reported to the office, the causes of death were most imperfectly given.

So much having been premised, we proceed to look into the more interesting figures in the Reports.

The following are the number of deaths in Bombay for the four years ending 1867, viz.:—

1864 .. 25,015 or 3·062 per cent.	1866 .. 16,865    " 2·065 per cent.
1865 .. 28,631    " 3·504    "	1867 .. 15,500    " 1·895    "

This is exclusive of still-born,\* and on the hypothesis of a fixed population of 816,562.

Comparing the mortality of Calcutta with that of Bombay for two of the years under observation, we have the following, viz.:—

LOCALITY.	Mortality per cent. during the Year	
	1865.	1866.
Calcutta .. ..	5·408	4·716
Bombay† .. ..	3·504	2·065

\* The number of still-born in 1867 was 588, being ·072 per cent. of the total population.

† This does not include still-born.

These two years, however, it must be remembered, were in Calcutta exceptional years. In 1865 there was a severe epidemic of smallpox, and a sudden rise in the price of food and articles of clothing; while in 1866 the famine prevailing in Bengal caused an influx of starving population into Calcutta, estimated at 20,000 souls.

The mortality per cent. in Bombay during 1867, according to different creeds or castes, was as follows:—

Buddhist or Jain .. ..	7·019	Parsees .. ..	1·707
Brahmin .. ..	1·879	Jews .. ..	2·855
Lingaet .. ..	3·629	Native Christians .. ..	2·567
Bhatia .. ..	1·038	Indo-Europeans .. ..	1·692
Hindoos of other Castes ..	1·497	Europeans .. ..	2·567
Hindoo Outcastes .. ..	3·672	Negro-Africans .. ..	5·304
Mussulmans .. ..	2·646	Chinese .. ..	3·632

The number of Lingaets, Indo-Europeans, and Jews under observation are too small to warrant the figures being used for practical purposes.

Comparing this mortality with similar results for Calcutta during the year 1866, we have the following:—

	Nationality.	Bombay.	Calcutta.
	Christians .. ..	2·51	5·19
	Hindoos .. ..	1·74	6·41
	Mussulmans .. ..	2·65	5·83
	Jews .. ..	2·86	1·46
	Chinese .. ..	3·63	3·19
	Parsees .. ..	1·71	0·88

Under "Christians" being I apprehend included, Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, or Indo-Europeans, Greeks, Armenians, and Native Converts.

Confining the comparison to Christians, Hindoos, and Mahomedans, the following are the figures:—

LOCALITY.	CHRISTIANS.		HINDOOS.		MAHOMEDANS.	
	Number under observation.	Mortality per cent.	Number under observation.	Mortality per cent.	Number under observation.	Mortality per cent.
Bombay .. ..	30,209	2·51	558,428	1·74	145,880	2·65
Calcutta .. ..	22,993*	4·40	239,190	5·47	113,059	5·41

I give these figures as they are obtained from the different Reports, without being able to account for the extraordinary disparities in the results.

The results in the Bombay Health Officer's Reports are interesting, as affecting Parsees, by far the most intelligent and enterprising of the non-Christian population of the Presidency towns. The Calcutta census, returns only 98 Parsees as resident within the ditch on the 8th January, 1866; while there were no less than 49,201 resident in Bombay in February, 1864. The deaths in Bombay were 840 during 1867, exhibiting a mortality of about 17 per 1000. Thus Parsees, so far as these results can be relied on, may be considered a better class of lives than even the pure European residents in Bombay, who during the year under observation died at the rate of about 26 per 1000.

The Abstracts of the Health Officer of Calcutta are arranged according to the classification adopted by the Registrar-General of England. In Bombay a classification originated I believe by Dr. Leith is used. "It has not," says the Health Officer, "been deemed expedient to assimilate these returns to the classification of deaths

\* Native converts not particularized in Calcutta census.

used by the Registrar-General of England . . . until some decision has been arrived at regarding the alteration on this subject proposed by the Royal College of Physicians." Thus we shall be prevented any refined comparisons between the results for Bombay and similar results applicable to Calcutta, or the great towns of England.

The first thing that is manifest, however, on the face of the returns is, that the vast majority of deaths are, as in the case of Calcutta, caused by zymotic diseases of the miasmatic order; that is to say, are consequent on defective drainage, impure water, absence of ventilation, and the unclean habits of the community. In Calcutta, during 1866, upwards of one-third of the total casualties were from cholera. In Bombay the chief scourge is, and for some years has been, fever. Thus the ratio of deaths from fever to the total casualties were during the following years—

1864	.. ..	50 per cent.	1866	.. ..	59 per cent.
1865	.. ..	65 "	1867	.. ..	37 "

Much the heaviest mortality in Bombay takes place in the Parell district, which includes a great portion of the "flats," on which are located large numbers of the poorest of the labouring classes. "The whole district," says the Municipal Commissioner, "lies to leeward of the lowest part of the flats, and accordingly it has the highest death-rate from all causes, and the highest death-rate from fever also."

"Until Government," says the Health Officer, "is pleased to fill in this part of the island, it will always be so." The sea-water comes in, it appears, and turns some hundreds of acres into a salt-swamp, penetrates into the drains, and thus distributes the effluvia far and wide. It is no wonder, therefore, that from one-half to two-thirds of the deaths in Bombay are caused by fever.

The following Table, exhibiting the number of deaths from certain of the zymotic diseases, and from other causes, in each month of the four years ending 1867, will be interesting. It is taken verbatim from the Report.

	1864.					
	Cholera.	Smallpox.	Measles.	Fever.	All other causes except Zymotic.	Total, exclusive of Still-born.
January .. ..	622	65	5	1,140	514	2,346
February .. ..	401	158	22	899	514	1,993
March .. ..	302	367	31	1,022	510	2,232
1st Quarter ..	1,325	590	58	3,061	1,538	6,571
April .. ..	680	438	27	1,140	526	2,811
May .. ..	837	302	13	1,204	476	2,832
June .. ..	395	185	15	1,034	459	2,088
2nd Quarter ..	1,912	925	55	3,378	1,461	7,731
July .. ..	371	85	4	930	464	1,854
August .. ..	351	43	2	1,050	505	1,951
September .. ..	232	20	1	990	455	1,698
3rd Quarter ..	954	148	7	2,970	1,424	5,503
October .. ..	88	10	3	1,002	399	1,502
November .. ..	137	13	1	1,015	421	1,587
December .. ..	431	21	8	1,168	493	2,121
4th Quarter ..	656	44	12	3,185	1,313	5,210
Year ..	4,847	1,707	132	12,594	5,736	25,015

TABLE—continued.

	1865.					
	Cholera.	Smallpox.	Measles.	Fever.	All other causes except Zymotic.	Total, exclusive of Still-born.
January .. ..	363	36	16	1,582	540	2,537
February .. ..	540	59	25	1,861	505	2,990
March .. ..	520	136	54	2,410	500	3,620
1st Quarter ..	1,423	231	95	5,853	1,545	9,147
April .. ..	352	173	74	2,588	541	3,728
May .. ..	627	68	83	2,462	561	3,801
June .. ..	206	33	40	1,381	476	2,136
2nd Quarter ..	1,185	274	197	6,401	1,578	9,765
July .. ..	116	10	28	1,235	709	2,038
August .. ..	62	9	12	1,154	561	1,798
September .. ..	30	7	8	1,137	524	1,706
3rd Quarter ..	208	26	48	3,526	1,794	5,602
October .. ..	32	5	7	1,009	426	1,479
November .. ..	22	9	10	943	371	1,355
December .. ..	13	22	12	977	359	1,383
4th Quarter ..	67	36	29	2,929	1,156	4,217
Year ..	2,883	567	369	18,709	6,073	28,731

	1866.					
	Cholera.	Smallpox.	Measles.	Fever.	All other causes except Zymotic.	Total, exclusive of Still-born.
January .. ..	13	95	49	1,058	353	1,508
February .. ..	15	98	89	984	360	1,546
March .. ..	12	257	141	1,114	358	1,882
1st Quarter ..	40	450	279	3,156	1,071	4,936
April .. ..	16	271	117	1,088	398	1,887
May .. ..	21	209	52	1,035	418	1,735
June .. ..	15	112	20	761	389	1,297
2nd Quarter ..	52	592	189	2,884	1,205	4,919
July .. ..	27	54	6	562	538	1,187
August .. ..	43	23	4	574	556	1,200
September .. ..	63	9	1	544	467	1,084
3rd Quarter ..	133	86	11	1,680	1,561	3,471
October .. ..	49	2	1	617	417	1,086
November .. ..	31	1	1	697	418	1,148
December .. ..	27	8	1	843	426	1,305
4th Quarter ..	107	11	3	2,157	1,261	3,539
Year ..	332	1,139	482	9,877	5,098	16,865



TABLE—continued.

	1867.					
	Cholera.	Smallpox.	Measles.	Fever.	All other causes except Zymotic.	Total, exclusive of Still-born.
January .. ..	11	14	3	503	944	1,475
February .. ..	21	66	1	534	736	1,358
March .. .. .	12	247	3	470	745	1,477
1st Quarter ..	44	327	7	1,507	2,425	4,310
April .. .. .	26	212	3	548	685	1,474
May .. .. .	5	190	4	602	647	1,484
June .. .. .	9	151	3	470	632	1,265
2nd Quarter ..	30	553	10	1,620	1,964	4,223
July .. .. .	5	81	2	396	685	1,169
August .. .. .	5	40	1	318	830	1,194
September .. ..	7	16	1	374	702	1,100
3rd Quarter ..	17	137	4	1,088	2,217	3,463
October .. .. .	6	10	..	428	670	1,114
November .. ..	4	11	2	467	698	1,182
December .. ..	..	17	1	564	662	1,244
4th Quarter ..	10	38	3	1,459	2,030	3,540
Year .. .. .	101	1,055	24	5,674	8,636	15,536

Thus, assuming the population to have been stationary during these four years, the deaths per 1000 would be as follows:—

Disease.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.
Cholera .. .. .	5.93	3.53	.40	.13
Smallpox .. .. .	2.09	0.69	1.32	1.29
Measles .. .. .	0.16	0.45	.59	.02
Fever .. .. .	15.42	22.94	12.09	6.94
All other Causes .. ..	7.02	7.43	6.25	10.57
Total of all Causes..	30.62	35.04	20.65	18.95

The diminished mortality from fever in 1867 is alleged to be partly owing to the greater accuracy in recording the causes of death. As to cholera, the disease appears to have wholly died out in December, 1867, no deaths from that cause having been reported during that month; and this is stated to have been consequent on the extraordinary precautions used to promptly disinfect all the localities in which any cases of cholera appeared.

The following Table exhibits the mortality from fever during each quarter of the four years ending 1867:—

Year.	January, February, March.	April, May, June.	July, August, September.	October, November, December.
1864	3,061	3,378	2,970	3,185
1865	5,853	6,431	5,526	2,929
1866	3,156	2,884	1,680	2,157
1867	1,507	1,620	1,088	1,459
Totals ..	13,577	14,313	9,264	9,730

It thus appears that fever almost invariably obtains its maximum intensity during the second quarter of the year, being at the minimum during the monsoon months of July, August, and September, when the drains throughout the Native town are well scoured by the rains. Smallpox also gradually increases in virulence from the beginning of the year until the end of the second quarter, after which it begins to decline. The sudden rise in the deaths from smallpox, says the Health Officer, is coincident with the time of the influx of Mahomedan pilgrims to Bombay for the purposes of the Haj.

Comparing the mortality per cent. per annum in Calcutta from cholera, smallpox, and fever, with that of Bombay, we have the following, *viz.* :—

Disease.	Bombay, 1867.	Calcutta, 1866.
Cholera .. ..	·13	15·85
Fever .. ..	6·94	11·27*
Smallpox .. ..	1·29	·26

Thus the deaths from cholera in Bombay in 1867 were only 13 in every 10,000 of the population, while in Calcutta they amounted in 1866 to 1585 for every 10,000 of the population. Fever also was more fatal in Calcutta in 1866 than it was in Bombay during the year following.

The following figures extracted from the Health Officer's Report will show in order of precedence the localities in which fever has most prevailed in Bombay, and where the general death-rate has been highest :—

Mortality from Fever per 1000.	Mortality from all Causes per 1000.
Parell .. .. 20·85	Parell .. .. 40·13
Esplanade .. .. 13·97	Esplanade .. .. 35·20
Klara-tulao .. .. 13·51	Klara-tulao .. .. 32·61
Kumateepoora .. .. 12·54	Coombarwara .. .. 29·58
Worlee .. .. 11·94	Kamateepoora .. .. 28·35
Coombarwara .. .. 10·87	Chuapatee .. .. 27·33
Sewree .. .. 10·11	Chuckla .. .. 26·49
Chuapatee .. .. 9·21	Girgaum .. .. 23·44
Chuckla .. .. 8·66	Oomberkharee .. .. 22·77

The low-lying and swampy condition of the flats, taken in connection with the fact that until lately there was, says the Health Officer, in the whole district of Parell not one well-built drain, is alleged to be the probable cause of the excessive mortality in that quarter of the island.

Then as to the Esplanade, where the mortality from fever in 1867 was about 14 per 1000, and from all causes upwards of 35 per 1000; this excessive death-rate is believed to be owing to wet subsoil and very imperfect surface-drainage, also to the air in that quarter being tainted with emanations from the foul shore in Moody Bay. Of the 227 deaths which occurred on the Esplanade, where two native infantry regiments

\* The deaths from fever were 4053, and from remittent fever 1206, or a total of 5259 in a population of 377,924.

were quartered, no less than 163 took place within the lines, 75 deaths being from fever.\*

Epidemic cholera is said to be most severe in Chaopattée, Girgaum, and Khetwaree, owing to these places being undrained, and the surface rock on which they stand absorbent.

#### V.—Meteorology.

The following Table (p. 118) is an abstract of the meteorological observations supplied from the Bombay Observatory during the year beginning 1st January, 1867. It will be seen that the mean barometric pressure during the year was 29·823 inches, its mean range 116, and its absolute range 629. The mean temperature of the air in shade was 78·9°, the mean daily range 9·9°, and the absolute range 30·8°. The mean dew-point was 71·5°, and the mean humidity 79 per cent. The wind blew a mean of 19½ hours from the sea, and 4½ hours from the land, during each day throughout the year.

Comparing the mean temperature of the air during each month with that of Calcutta, as given for the year 1866, we have the following, viz. :—

Month.	Bombay, 1867.	Calcutta, 1866.	Month.	Bombay, 1867.	Calcutta, 1866.
January .. ..	74·2	78·2	August .. ..	79·7	87·6
February .. ..	73·1	79·2	September .. ..	79·6	89·3
March .. ..	76·9	94·3	October .. ..	79·9	86·9
April .. ..	80·6	94·0	November .. ..	76·6	82·7
May .. ..	84·7	96·1	December .. ..	74·9	76·4
June .. ..	84·7	92·8			
July .. ..	80·5	88·0	Year .. ..	78·9	87·1

Thus, during May and June, the hottest months in the year, the temperature of the air at Calcutta is higher by about 10° than it is in Bombay; while during the cold months it is considerably cooler in Bombay than in Calcutta. The mean temperature of the air during the year under observation was in Calcutta 87·1°, and in Bombay 78·9° of Fahrenheit.

The following Table exhibits the degree of humidity of the air in Bombay as compared with Calcutta, complete saturation being represented by unity, viz. :—

Month.	Bombay, 1867.	Calcutta, 1866.	Month.	Bombay, 1867.	Calcutta, 1866.
January .. ..	·71	·72	August .. ..	·89	·86
February .. ..	·69	·69	September .. ..	·87	·84
March .. ..	·79	·62	October .. ..	·85	·80
April .. ..	·79	·68	November .. ..	·72	·70
May .. ..	·77	·73	December .. ..	·75	·68
June .. ..	·80	·76			
July .. ..	·88	·85	Year .. ..	·79	·74

From which it appears that, as a rule, the atmosphere is more humid in Bombay than in Calcutta, the difference being most remarkable during the months of March and April.

\* According to the 'Times of India,' the following is the mortality, mainly from fever, in certain districts of Bombay from 1864 to 1867 inclusive:—

Population.			Population.		
Chowpatties .. 6,184 ..	{ 62 in 1864		Esplanade .. .. 7,869 ..	{ 50·4 in 1864	
	{ 58·5 " 1865			{ 50·8 " 1865	
	{ 37·3 " 1866			{ 35·2 " 1867	
	{ 27·3 " 1867			{ 34·1 " 1865	
Khetwaree .. 21,505 ..	{ 74·1 " 1865		Parell .. .. 7,602 ..	{ 30·5 " 1866	
	{ 38·1 " 1866			{ 40·1 " 1867	
	{ 46·1 " 1864			{ 40·6 " 1864	
Khara-tulao .. 28,458 ..	{ 57·9 " 1865		Kamateepoor .. 81,675 ..	{ 40·9 " 1865	
	{ 30·5 " 1866			{ 27·1 " 1866	
	{ 32·6 " 1867			{ 28·3 " 1867	

Now this deadly mortality was by fever in every instance. Thus, of the 74 per thousand dying in 1865 in Khetwaree, 52 fell victims to fever, the production of filth and swamps, defective drainage and bad water.

ABSTRACT OF THE METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS SUPPLIED FROM THE BOMBAY OBSERVATORY DURING THE YEAR BEGINNING  
1ST JANUARY, 1867.

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	Pressure of Air. (Barometer 34 feet above the Mean Sea-level, and reduced to 32° Fahr.) Inches.				Temperature of Air in the Shade, Degrees Fahr.				HYGROMETER STATE OF AIR.				WIND.		RAINS AT COLABA.		RAINS AT BYCULLA.	
	Mean.	Mean Daily Range.	Abso- lute Range.	Mean. Daily Range.	Mean. Daily Range.	Abso- lute Range.	Dew Point, Degrees Fahr.		Humidity.		Daily Mean Number of Hours.	From Sea.	From Land.	Inches.	On No. of Days.	Inches.	On No. of Days.	
							Mean.	Abso- lute Range.	Mean.	Range of Daily Mean.								
January .. ..	29.964	126	215	74.2	13.0	22.9	63.7	9.1	30.0	.71	.29	14½	9½	..	..	..	..	
February .. ..	29.916	130	259	73.1	13.7	21.1	61.8	12.0	28.2	.69	.28	18½	5½	..	..	..	..	
March .. ..	29.879	127	277	76.9	11.6	20.1	69.5	7.0	17.5	.79	.16	20¾	3¼	..	..	..	..	
1st Quarter ..	29.920	128	333	74.8	12.8	25.6	65.0	9.4	25.2	.73	.24	18	6	..	..	..	..	
April .. ..	29.820	129	268	80.6	9.5	16.8	73.2	4.5	10.7	.79	.12	23	1	..	..	..	1	
May .. ..	29.732	119	218	84.7	8.7	13.4	76.4	3.2	11.4	.77	.15	23¾	¾	..	..	..	..	
June .. ..	29.670	101	341	84.7	7.3	16.9	77.6	3.3	7.2	.80	.16	23	1	9.15	20	12.69	23	
2nd Quarter ..	29.741	116	430	83.3	8.5	18.3	75.7	3.7	13.6	.79	.16	23	1	9.15	20	12.75	24	
July .. ..	29.659	107	324	80.5	6.0	14.0	76.4	3.9	11.0	.88	.14	22	2	30.90	28	36.87	27	
August .. ..	29.632	104	294	79.7	5.6	10.2	76.2	3.5	6.1	.89	.10	24	..	12.82	29	17.64	29	
September ..	29.750	108	360	79.6	6.9	12.6	75.2	4.0	7.9	.87	.11	21½	2½	7.15	21	8.38	21	
3rd Quarter ..	29.700	103	413	80.3	6.2	14.5	75.9	3.8	11.0	.88	.12	22½	1½	50.87	78	62.80	77	
October .. ..	29.826	125	261	79.9	10.0	16.1	75.1	5.6	19.9	.85	.24	15½	8½	5.33	9	4.80	10	
November ..	29.983	130	324	76.6	12.4	20.5	66.7	8.9	19.5	.72	.15	13	11	0.13	3	..	..	
December ..	29.981	125	227	74.9	13.2	24.2	66.1	9.4	24.2	.75	.23	18½	5¾	..	..	..	..	
4th Quarter ..	29.930	126	447	77.1	11.9	27.7	69.3	7.9	30.7	.77	.20	15½	8½	5.46	12	4.80	10	
Year .. ..	29.823	116	620	78.9	9.9	30.8	71.5	6.2	37.3	.79	.17	19½	4½	65.48	110	80.44	111	

As to rainfall, during the months of January, February, March, April, and December of 1866, no rain fell at Byculla. The number of days on which rain fell, and the fall in inches at each Presidency town during the period under observation, was as follows, viz. :—

MONTH.	BOMBAY, 1867.		CALCUTTA, 1866.	
	Number of Days on which Rain fell.	Amount of Fall in inches.	Number of Days on which Rain fell.	Amount of Fall in inches.
January .. ..	..	..	5	1·70
February .. ..	..	..	6	3·74
March .. ..	..	..	..	..
April .. ..	..	..	9	1·81
May .. ..	1	·06	9	2·56
June .. ..	23	12·69	21	7·02
July .. ..	27	36·87	26	13·42
August .. ..	29	17·64	27	11·48
September ..	21	8·38	23	15·97
October .. ..	10	4·80	12	7·83
November ..	..	..	..	..
December ..	..	..	..	..
Year .. ..	111	80·44	138	65·53

Thus in Calcutta rain fell on 138 days, and in Bombay on 111 days; but the fall during the year at the latter place was 80·44 inches against 65·53 inches in Calcutta. During July the rainfall at Bombay was about 37 inches, while in no single month at Calcutta did more than 16 inches fall.\*

\* The following, relative to the "Rainfall of India," is from the 'Times of India' of 9th January last, and may be interesting to many of my hearers, but I do not endorse all the statements made:—

"The fall of rain over the continent of Hindostan is so extremely eccentric that it is doubtful if it is more varied in any other quarter of the globe. From the total absence, or meagre showers of Scinde, to the tremendous downpour of many feet in other localities, there is a marked difference in almost every district. In Kurrachee and other parts of Scinde and Beloochistan, years may pass without a drop, or at the most a few light showers, while in parts of Bengal it is a common occurrence to see a heavy fall estimated by feet rather than inches, and where, in less than a week, just double the average rainfall of Bombay has visited certain spots. To an inhabitant of Guzerat, where the fall seldom exceeds 30 inches in the year, that amount to pour down in twenty-four hours, and to continue at the same rate for five days in succession, would appear almost incredible, yet it is a well-known occurrence at Sylhet, in Eastern Bengal, and where statistics are duly noted and carefully preserved year by year. This extraordinary place seems destined to monopolize a great portion of the heavy clouds that rise from the Bay of Bengal, and float over from the Deccan, and by its altitude (about 2900 feet) it checks the heaviest masses, and by stopping their further progress compels them to discharge their contents over the limited area exposed. The only way to explain the cause of the annual deluge in this district, and which has been known to exceed 500 inches, is the following, which will be better understood by a reference to a map of India. The prevailing winds (S.W.) bring over the large bodies of vapour which arise from the Bay, and the greater part of the southern portions of the continent; these come rolling up, gathering as they advance, and forced over towards Burmah, which, however, they do not reach, being turned off and sent on due north by the range of mountains (the Blue Mountains and others) which separate Burmah from Arracan. Sweeping on, and passing over the low-lying ranges of Chittagong and Independent Tipperah, they proceed undisturbed till they are suddenly brought to a standstill by the Cherrapoonjee and Jynteah hills, of which Sylhet forms the chief place of note. As the masses are too heavy to rise, they become condensed where they remain, and the rain descends literally in torrents. Fortunately for the people there, it is a hilly district, and an hour after a fall of a few inches there is scarcely a trace of it. The inhabitants take advantage of the sudden rise in the hill streams to load and send off their boats, with various commodities, so as to gain the assistance of the locomotive power of the water, which they are obliged to avail themselves of while it lasts, as it is soon expended, and the excitement that takes place on the approach of a small flood is universal. As a proof that Sylhet takes more rain than its share, it is remarked that the country north of the Cherrapoonjee range gets but a very scanty allowance, averaging 60 inches. The lighter and consequently higher clouds escaping the range are speeded on to water the portions of India to the north and east.

"The fall in Western India again is somewhat similar. Where the clouds travel up along the Western Ghats, the difference in the fall in the Canara and Concan districts and the country to the east of the Ghats is perceptible; for instance, at Vingoria the fall averages 100 inches, and at Sholapur it is only about 20; or Rutnagberry is also about 100 inches, while the fall at Poona barely averages more than 15, while at Mahabeshwar and other points where the clouds are checked, the fall exceeds 300 inches. But as

## VI.—Conclusion.

I cannot conclude without claiming the indulgence of my hearers for the curtness of this paper—which indeed pretends to little more than an analysis and re-arrangement of the information contained in the reports—as compared with that I had the honour to present to the Society last year, on the “Population and Mortality of Calcutta.”

Deeply impressed with the importance of the objects of this Association, and believing that statistical knowledge is the proper basis of every social and economic reform, I consented unwillingly, amidst much pressure of other engagements, again to offer a few remarks on Indian vital statistics; but those only who have had practical experience of the preparation of such matter can have any idea of the formidable labour which it involves.

Passing from this point, it is pleasant to recognize the existence of many sturdy sanitary reformers in Bombay. The Report for 1867 of Mr. Crawford, the Municipal Commissioner, is a very able, exhaustive, and even elegant document, copiously illustrated with photographs and plans of the new buildings and improvements now in progress in the island, and I can only regret that time and space forbid a more extended examination of it on this occasion. Nor must we here omit to mention the name of Dr. A. H. Leith, who has, perhaps, a more profound acquaintance with the vital statistics of Bombay than any man living; nor that of Dr. T. G. Hewlett, the Health Officer, whose Report for 1867 is repeatedly referred to above.

Those gentlemen have duties to perform, of the difficulties of which officers of the Government exercising similar functions in this country have little idea. The Municipal Commissioner, for instance, on taking charge, says:—“I found that while I was called upon to carry out radical and expensive reforms in every direction, I had no funds! The cash in my treasury had been borrowed two days before I took charge, from another fund. The rates and taxes, in some cases for years, had not been assessed, much less collected! There were three contracts just commenced which absorbed three-fourths of the Municipal revenue! There was an estimated deficit of nearly 20 lacs for the year! The accounts for the previous year had not even been made up! And those for years under the heading of unadjusted advances to contractors were incomplete! There were no statistics! With the introduction of the Municipal Act on 1st July, 1865, the Town Duties Act was rescinded, and thus during the first six months of my administration I was deprived of the chief source of Municipal revenue! for the Legislature had not made the Licence Tax, the substitute for Town Duties, leviable until January, 1866. I had further to face the unpopularity of this Licence Tax, and to incur the further odium of the Lighting and Police Rates, then also for the first time made leviable. At the first Bench Meeting I placed the necessary facts before the Bench, and, asking for funds, was told to borrow again from the Drainage!! I saw at that meeting and at several others (at one of which I plainly said the Budget could not be adhered to in the first few years) that I must act boldly and alone. However strongly convinced myself of the necessity for immediate expenditure in certain directions, I could not hope to convince the Bench, for I had no accounts and no statistics to support my bare assertions. In this dilemma I had two courses open to me—the one to swim with the tide, indifferent to the death and disease, and the many crying wants around me; the other to act boldly and for the best, trusting to time, if need be, to prove me right. I adopted the latter—the only course open, as I think, to any man of ordinary energy and courage—and I do not regret my decision. In making this statement I beg that it may not be supposed that I defend the practice of exceeding the Budget grant; far from it, I only insist that under the circumstances such excess was unavoidable and even justifiable.”

Having in recollection that fully one-half of the mortality of Bombay is caused by

there is nothing to wholly cause a decided stoppage in the passage of the clouds up along the west coast, similar to the right angle range of Cherrapoonjee, the amount of rain during the year, at the outside, can only be estimated as half or three-fourths that of Sylhet. It is a well-known fact that hills attract clouds quite as much as trees, if not more. In the case noted above, the ranges do not interfere so much in the course of their journey as to direct it afterwards, but it is amusing sometimes to watch the direction a rain-cloud will take in a hilly country, as, after passing steadily along a range which would ultimately bring it to plain lands, on arriving at the extremity of the hill it will turn back and resume its course amongst the mountains, most probably influenced by currents of air, but equally attracted by the trees and hills.”

a defective conservancy, my hearers will, doubtless, agree with me in thinking that the Commissioner was quite right in his muscular treatment of the case. But more taxes were necessary, and increase of taxation in India, for whatever purpose, is never free from danger. Several of the Native papers, we are told, were loud in their disapprobation on the occasion.

There appear to be many conflicting opinions as to what steps are necessary to improve the sanitary condition of Bombay, on the merits of which I am not competent to decide. The following are prominently put forward in the local press:—

1. The construction of the Shewla reservoir for providing the island with a copious supply of pure water.
2. A complete system of drainage.
3. The reclamation of the swamps on the island.
4. Increased ventilation in the Native town.

It is estimated that 10 lacs a-year, or an increase of 25 per cent. to the present Municipal income, would be the price required for an unfailling supply of pure water, and that four millions sterling would probably, from first to last, be needed for the completion of the proposed works. These reforms completed, Bombay, it is said, would be one of the healthiest cities in the world, and the death-rate at Chowpattee, Khetwaree, Parell, and other districts, from being at the rate of from 4 to 6 per cent. per annum, might be reduced to what it was at Seo, Dhobee Talao, and other places, in 1866-67, or from 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Great complaints are made in the local press at the inequitable distribution of taxation in the island. It is said that, while in this country the taxes fall on one person out of every five, six, or seven; in Bombay they commonly fall upon one in every sixty, seventy, or eighty persons; and that thus while Municipal taxation in the island presses on some 3000 people with almost confiscatory violence, the vast majority of the population never receive any visit from the tax-gatherer at all.

However this may be, we are all of us—every Englishman indeed, is deeply interested in the noble efforts now being made to improve the sanitary condition of Bombay, and make it, what is declared to be possible, as healthy a place for Europeans to live in, as London. I imagine that the Suez canal will bring about a complete revolution in the trade of this country with India. Already, I am informed, merchants are preparing to ship cotton from the Bombay Presidency by the canal, and ships are building on the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde, specially adapted to this carrying-trade. In the passenger traffic all the miseries attending transhipment will be avoided; and travellers will embark at Southampton or Marseilles and step on shore at Bombay, or Shanghai, or Yokohama, as the case may be, without trouble. Bombay being the natural centre of the cotton-trade, the common western terminus for all the great lines of railway communication in India, and the port of arrival and departure of the English mails, will, beyond all doubt, benefit more than any other of our Eastern ports, from increased facilities for communication with Europe. And even when that millennial period arrives, predicted by Captain Tyler, when travellers to India will leave Charing Cross, pass through the tunnel below the Channel, thence by the Euphrates Valley Railway, and finally, after a pleasant excursion of a week or ten days (!), step out of the carriage at Bombay, without wetting a shoe, she will still retain her proud position as one of the foremost cities of the East.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI said, that while he could not pretend to call in question the figures given by Mr. Tait, seeing that they had been taken from the published reports, there were a few incidental statements in the paper which he (Mr. Dadabhai) would wish to correct. He endorsed the remark that the educated classes in Bombay took an active interest in the census. Not only the educated classes, but a large portion of the other classes also, took up the matter warmly; although in carrying out the census great difficulties had to be encountered. When Mr. Tait read a paper on a former occasion, he (Mr. Dadabhai) stated the steps which had been taken by the educated classes, by the issue of placards and in other ways, to explain to the uneducated classes that no danger of increased taxation was to be apprehended by the taking of the census, and that one of its objects was to obtain statistics with a view to improving the health of the place. With reference to Mr. Tait's remark (under Head II.), "that while the population of Calcutta is only about one-half that of Bombay, the number of inhabited houses appears to be double," the preceding sentence explained the fact. There being in Bombay a greater number of houses of more than one floor



than in Calcutta, they were able to accommodate a much larger number of people than those in Calcutta. Under Head III., Mr. Tait stated that the Buddhists, the Brahmins, the Lingaists, and the Bhatias were the classes which abstained from eating animal food; but a large portion of the class enumerated as "Hindoos of other caste" abstained from animal food also, more especially the Wania, who formed a very large portion of that class; Mr. Tait went on to say:—"The Parsee is under no restriction as to what he shall eat;" but the fact was, that the Parsee was restricted from eating either beef or pork. He (Mr. Dadabhai) did not quite understand the point of Mr. Tait's remark, that the Parsee was said to be very fond of champagne. If he only meant that he took wines, that was perfectly true. Mr. Tait was mistaken in saying that the followers of Zoroaster believed in a duality of gods. The Parsees were as much monotheists as any other people on the face of the earth. With respect to the large proportion of males to females in Bombay, that was probably to be accounted for by the fact that a large number of males came from other districts into Bombay to obtain work, leaving their families at home. As Mr. Tait observed, up to the age of thirteen, the proportion of the sexes was nearly equal, showing that where you take the regular settled population, the two sexes were in the natural proportion to one another. With respect to the statement that "caste appeared to have little or no influence in determining the occupation of the Hindoo population in Bombay," the fact was, that though there were certain professions, such for instance as a clerkship in a Government office, into which a Hindoo of any caste could enter, there were occupations appertaining to particular castes, which individuals belonging to other castes would not follow, such as a blacksmith would not become a shoemaker, and so on. With regard to the large number of "beggars" among the Brahmins, allowance must be made for the circumstance that they were religious mendicants—that they were beggars not because they were naturally idle, and did not like work, but because they considered it meritorious to beg. He observed with pleasure that the fact was mentioned that among the 50,000 Parsees there was not one beggar. The lowest labourer among the Parsees was many degrees better off than persons of his condition among other classes; and a regular home was provided for the blind and the crippled. The statement at the end of Head III., that "of the whole population of Bombay little more than one-fifth were born on the island, but upwards of 89 per cent. were born within the Presidency and 97½ per cent. on Indian territory," confirmed what he had already pointed out as accounting for the disparity in the proportion of the sexes in Bombay, *viz.* that a large number of males came from various parts of the Presidency into Bombay to procure employment, leaving their families behind them. With respect to Mr. Tait's remarks about the municipality of Bombay, he (Mr. Dadabhai) had been there lately, and though he had taken no particular interest in the subject, he had watched what was going on, and had observed the general impression in Bombay upon the matter. Mr. Crawford, in his last Budget, had enunciated the principle that, instead of cutting the coat according to the cloth, the cloth should be cut according to the coat—instead of saying, "We can only get so much money, and we must do what we can with that," he had said, "We must have so much money." Seeing that 32 lacs of rupees were raised every year in Bombay, one would expect to find a large amount spent in sanitary improvements, but the general complaint in Bombay was that some portion of the money collected did not go into the treasury of the municipality, but went where it ought not to go. If Mr. Crawford only satisfied the people that they got the worth of the money which they contributed, he could without difficulty raise in Bombay whatever was required.

On Mr. Tayler asking whether auditor's accounts were not published, Mr. DADABHAI said:—The audited accounts were no doubt published, but facts came out last year giving rise to the imputation (he could not say what truth there was in it till the question had been tried before the regular legal tribunal) that a person had been keeping a large amount of money in his own possession for months together without accounting to the municipality for it. The question of the constitution of the municipalities of India was one of the great questions of the day. Seeing that the natives of Bombay were necessarily very much interested in municipal matters, what was required was that the natives should be properly *represented* on the municipalities, and that thus the members (at least some of them) of the municipal benches should be accountable to their constituents for their conduct as such members. Bombay, Mr. D. thought, was now well prepared to form a constituency to elect some members to represent its people on the bench. Mr. Dadabhai could not understand the remark that only 3000 persons paid all rates. Some parts of Bombay paid light rates without

getting any benefit from them. With respect to what was now most required in order to improve the sanitary condition of Bombay, drainage was the great problem to be solved, the difficulties of solving it being very great, owing to the general level of Bombay being not much above the level of the sea; but when that was solved, Bombay, as regards its sanitary condition, would compete with any other place in the world.

MR. TAYLER.—The remarks I propose to make upon this interesting paper are entirely general. I think we may say that from the proceedings of the meeting to-day we have learnt two general lessons. One is, I regret to say, that statistical information is not found to be particularly attractive in drawing a large attendance; and the other is the great general lesson, that whether in Bombay, or Calcutta, or London, specific diseases, whether cholera, fever, small-pox, or anything else, are all dependent upon specific sanitary regulations—that if cholera is more prevalent in Calcutta than in Bombay, and if fever is more prevalent in Bombay than in Calcutta, it entirely depends on the sanitary arrangements of those particular places, making all allowance for climatic differences. That is the great lesson which a society like this, having the welfare of British India at heart, may profitably take to itself; because we may practically direct our efforts and our endeavours towards the adoption of those sanitary regulations which will contribute to the health of the population. And if I am not mistaken, we have to a great extent taken steps towards the accomplishment of that object in our efforts to obtain irrigation, which, after all, comprises the great question of drainage. Though a paper like that which Mr. Tait has read is rather bewildering to the brains and intelligence of almost all human beings, still we may derive from it the satisfactory lesson that in our humble sphere, if our efforts are properly directed towards the attainment of that great end—sanitary perfection—we may to a certain extent regulate and modify the exceptional mortality which is found to exist and prevail in particular places. These are the only remarks with regard to this particular subject which I will venture to make upon this occasion, because it is almost impossible for one to follow all the details of the paper while it is being read. The paper will be circulated, and we shall have an opportunity of studying it at our leisure; but as the name of Mr. Crawford has been incidentally mentioned, I would just observe that I, like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, went to India a few months ago, and passed through Bombay, taking out a letter of introduction to Mr. Crawford amongst others, and he very kindly took me in his carriage round Bombay morning and evening, and showed me the result of his municipal exertions; and whether or no there is any screw loose in the application of the finances, I can only say I never in my life was so struck with the energy of a single individual as I was in witnessing the results of Mr. Crawford's exertions in Bombay. He took me to the new market, to the slaughter-houses, to the numberless works in which he had been taking a leading part, in spite of great opposition; and it seems to me, if a few more energetic and independent men of that kind were scattered throughout the presidencies of India, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay would be very different places to what they are now. Whether Mr. Tait in his paper has given a correct description of the different classes; whether the Parsees are fond of champagne; whether they worship one God or two; whether the "Hindoo beggars" are professional beggars, or whether in begging they consider that they abandon the world; these are interesting ethnological questions, each of which forms a separate subject of discussion; but I only wish to leave these remarks on record, my object in making them being to point out that we may derive great profit from this able statistical paper, basing our future action on those truths which it enunciates.

CHAIRMAN.—If no one else has any remarks to offer, I would suggest to Mr. Tait whether the fact which has been mentioned as accounting for the disproportion of the sexes, viz. that a great number of males leave their families at home, and go themselves to Bombay in search of employment, may not also account to some extent for the great difference in the percentage of mortality between Bombay and Calcutta. I do not know whether I am right, but I believe that the population of Calcutta is, as compared with that of Bombay, almost fixed. Mr. Saunders, the proprietor of an English newspaper in Calcutta, and who is here, having lately arrived from Calcutta, will be able to tell us whether that is so or not. Bombay, as every one knows who has resided there a year or so, is inundated with people from Scinde, from the Persian Gulf, from Arabia, from Upper Africa, from the Malabar coast, and from the up-countries of India. How many of those people of different classes were on the island at the date of the census was no doubt ascertained; but I fancy no attempt was made to ascertain whether they were born on the island, and I think it would be almost impossible to ascertain that now. With regard to the percentage of mortality among

Europeans quoted in Mr. Tait's tables, we all know very well that the majority of the European population go out there to reside for only a few years, they do not go to pass their lives there; and whenever one of them gets very ill indeed, he is sent away home. I myself should have figured in these tables of mortality as one of the deaths if I had not been sent home twice. But, notwithstanding all that, according to the tables there appears to be a very high percentage of European mortality in Bombay even amongst that very fluctuating population. I think that is a thing which requires looking into a little more. If information could have been obtained regarding the percentage of mortality amongst the females it would have given a much truer state of the case than tables compiled from the fluctuating male population. The females, as Mr. Dadabhai states, are generally fixed—they do not move about like the men; and therefore, perhaps, it would be as well if particular inquiry was made with regard to the percentage of deaths among the females of Bombay and the females of Calcutta, assuming them to be fixed in both cases.

MR. SAUNDERS.—I will answer your question as well as I can. The population at Bombay, to which you are alluding, is a very fluctuating one, that is to say, a great number of males come for a season and return within the year. I think we have not the same fluctuation in the population in Calcutta. We have a very large number of males from Patna and the hill countries who come to Calcutta as coolies, as bearers, and as servants, increasing the male population very largely, but then they do not return—they are not there for six months or so—they are there for four or five years, and when they do go away others come to fill their places. That would no doubt cause a large number of males to appear in any census in proportion to females, but there is not the same fluctuation as there is in Bombay.

MR. SHAHABUDIN said :—With reference to the Municipal Commissioner, he had two things to look to, ornamentation, and the sanitary condition of the town. While it was quite true, as Mr. Tayler had said, Mr. Crawford had done much for the ornamentation of the town by the construction of bazaars, and roads, and so on, very little had been done to improve the sanitary condition of the crowded districts. Sanitary improvements ought to be carried out before ornamentation. Fountains, markets, Rotten Rows, and band stands could not be erected to improve the health of the masses of the people. No doubt the improvement of roads (roads being the lungs of the city) was a necessary work, but the filthy lanes and cesspools of the densely crowded districts should be first cleaned out. He admitted that the present Municipal Commissioner was a most energetic officer, but he believed Mr. Crawford had directed his energy more towards the ornamentation than the sanitation of the city, the great outlay incurred for the former benefited only a fraction, say 50,000, of the total population of 8 lacs. Memonwada, Mundwee, and such other places were in nearly the same filthy state as they were ten years ago. In the streets, which are very narrow, the men who remove the night-soil would be seen with their baskets open, at work till 12 o'clock, no notice being taken of them. Slaughter-houses had been constructed, but that was very little towards sanitary improvement.

MR. TAYLER remarked that Mr. Crawford told him that the slaughtering of cattle in the crowded parts of the town was one of the greatest sources of disease.

MR. SHAHABUDIN said that no doubt everybody was satisfied with what had been done as regarded the slaughter-houses. Even the markets were great improvements in a sanitary point of view, but a great deal more was required to be done. Dead dogs and cats might be seen rotting on the roads. There were many streets which one could not enter without disgust.

THE CHAIRMAN remarked that he was Garrison Engineer in Bombay for some time, and he found at that time, as his predecessors had found before him, that the great difficulty was that which was a puzzle to this day, viz. how to dispose of the night-soil. The level of the greater portion of the island was a few feet below high-water spring tides, and the sea therefore sent back what was turned into it, causing a greater nuisance than cesspools. How to empty the cesspools of a million people every night and every day was really a positive puzzle. The question, what was to be done with the sewage of London, was hardly yet solved, and Mr. Saunders would be able to tell the meeting the difficulties that were experienced on the same question in Calcutta.

MR. SAUNDERS stated that, being a member of the Municipal Bench of Calcutta, and a Justice of the Peace of Calcutta, he was rather an authority upon the point. In Calcutta, as in Bombay, complaint was made that nothing was being done for the natives in the way of sanitary improvements, the real fact being that the mass of filth to be dealt with was so enormous, that a large expenditure of money and labour

made no show. The difficulty in Calcutta, as in Bombay, was what to do with the sewage. Plans upon plans had been laid before the Municipality, and it was now proposed that a Joint Stock Company should be formed for the purpose of taking the sewage out to the Salt Water Lakes. The Government had offered every facility in the way of giving land and assistance, but they declined to give a guarantee.

CHAIRMAN.—If you have no remarks further to make, I hope you will join in giving your best thanks to Mr. Tait for the very great trouble he has taken in compiling this information. We have had the pleasure of hearing a statistical paper read in which the subject has been in a great measure popularized, and in which the results have been placed before us. I have much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Tait.

MR. SHABABUDIN.—I beg to second it.

MR. TAIT.—In making one or two observations on the two matters to which my attention was particularly called during the discussion, I will not detain you long, as you have been very patient in listening to this paper. I wish to express my best thanks to our native friends for having come forward to-day and spoken on this question. I deem the remarks of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji especially valuable, because they have cleared up many points on which I confess myself at sea, and on which a great many of us who have gone into statistical subjects are very much at sea indeed. Had this paper been read before the Statistical Society, before which society it ought perhaps properly to have been read, it would not have had the light thrown upon it which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has thrown upon it. The two points to which I have to refer are,—First, with regard to the disparity of the sexes in Bombay; and, secondly, as to the mortality. There can be no doubt whatever that a very large proportion of the male population of Bombay is a floating population, that is, they are merely birds of passage there, like ourselves—it is so in Calcutta also, but possibly not to so large an extent—and the fact which was pointed out by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that up to the age of 13 the number of the sexes was very nearly equal, goes a great way to prove that the excess in the number of adult males is due to the influx of people who come there to push their fortunes, in fact. As to the mortality, all Indian statistics must be received with very great reserve indeed. I do not say that these statistics are to be in every case relied on. I merely take them from the reports as I find them. I am quite unable to give reasons for the manifest disparity on the face of many of them. One of the most eminent statisticians perhaps in Europe (Dr. Farr) was here a few minutes ago—a pressing engagement obliged him to leave, but I daresay when this paper is printed in the Journal he will append to it a paper giving his view of the subject. There is no doubt that, especially as regards mortality, we must receive the results with great reserve. When a man is ill he often returns to his own country, possibly to die there, and altogether the conditions of social life in Indian towns are entirely different to those which exist in the towns in this country. I will only say in conclusion, that I regard these discussions as extremely valuable, and I think the ventilation of these subjects will do good. We are at present in the very infancy of Indian statistical inquiry, and a vast field for enterprise and distinction lies open to those who choose to pursue such inquiries.

On the motion of Mr. Tayler, seconded by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

## DONATIONS.

The Council have much pleasure in acknowledging the following donations, received since the publication of the last number of the Journal:—

HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF GONDAL, an annual subscription of Rs. 2400 for the support of the Journal.

HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF JOONAGHUR, an annual sum not exceeding Rs. 1000, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of translating the Journal of the Association into the Guzerathi language.

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAO OF KUTCH, a second donation of Rs. 1000.

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# JOURNAL

## OF THE

# EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING, FRIDAY, APRIL 17, 1868.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen,—Before Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji reads his paper on the advisability of further facilities being given for the admission of natives into the Indian Civil Service, I will briefly state the circumstances under which the question now comes before us. On the 12th August last year, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji read a paper advocating that competitive examinations should take place in India for a portion of the appointments to the Civil Service. An interesting discussion ensued, in which Sir Herbert Edwardes proposed as an additional article of the memorial, that the attention of the Secretary of State should be called to the desirableness of establishing scholarships in this country, tenable for five years, by natives between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, who should compete for them. Both the memorial and the additional article were approved by the meeting, and on the 21st August a deputation from the Association went to the Secretary of State, who expressed himself favourably with regard to both points, and stated that he was in correspondence with Sir John Lawrence and others in India on the subject. We do not know what has taken place further with regard to that correspondence. Since that, Mr. Fawcett, the member for Brighton, has given notice of the following motion:—"That this House, whilst cordially approving of the system of open competition for appointments in the East India Civil Service, is of opinion that the people of India have not a fair chance of competing for these appointments as long as the examinations are held nowhere but in London; this House would therefore deem it desirable that simultaneously with the examination in London, the same examination should be held in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras." Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji proposes that the Association should support that motion, by addressing a letter to the Secretary of State, requesting him to accede to the memorial presented on the 21st August last by a deputation from the Association; and we are here now to hear his arguments on the question.

### *Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service.*

GENTLEMEN,—Since our deputation waited on the Secretary of State for India with the Memorial\* relative to the Indian Civil Service, I find several objections urged from different quarters; and, as I see that Mr. Fawcett is going to move a resolution, I beg to submit for your consideration my views on those objections. They are, as far as I have met with, principally these:—

1. That the natives are not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity, and physical power and energy.
2. That Europeans would not like to serve under natives.
3. That native officials are not much respected by the natives, and that when a native is placed in any position of eminence, his fellow-countrymen all around him are ready to backbite and slander him.
4. That natives look too much to Government employment, and do not show sufficient independence of character to strike out for themselves other paths of life.
5. That though natives may prove good subordinates, they are not fit to be placed at the head of any department.
6. That natives who seek for admission into the Civil Service should be Anglicised.
7. That natives ought not to be put in positions of power.
8. That the places obtained by the natives will be so many lost to the English people.
9. That natives are already largely employed.

\* Appendix B.

To avoid confusion, I give hereafter the replies to these objections separately, but it is necessary to guard against being drawn into a discussion of these objections, and thereby missing the *real* point at issue. Whatever may be the weight or value of these objections, they are now altogether beside the question. The real position of the question at present is simply this: That, notwithstanding *all these* and other such objections, after a searching inquiry, and after taking them all into very careful consideration, Parliament has decided and publicly enacted, "That no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company." This enactment by Parliament in the year 1834 was again confirmed in distinct, honest, and emphatic terms by our gracious Sovereign in the year 1858: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . . It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." The tests of qualifications, character, and health are laid down. Now the question simply is, whether these solemn Royal declarations and enactments of Parliament are to be *fairly and honestly* carried out, or whether they are only to be a mockery and a delusion as far as the British subjects in India are concerned. This is the whole question. I have not the least doubt that the intentions of our Sovereign and Parliament are honest, and the only course open is, not to subject any one class of British subjects to greater difficulties and sacrifices than another. Every obstacle left or thrown in the way of the natives of India is equivalent to making the Royal word and Parliamentary enactment, as far as they are concerned, a dead letter and a mockery. The only way in which natives of India can be put on an honestly equal footing with Englishmen is by holding examinations in India also. I trust that in the debate in Parliament this real point at issue will not be lost sight of, and will be distinctly pronounced upon.

The questions which will have to be necessarily discussed in connexion with this point are—1st. Whether it is practicable to hold examinations in India. It is evident that there can be no insurmountable difficulty. I need hardly take up your time on this point, as you are all well aware that there are competent staffs of examiners in India. I would only throw out one or two suggestions. If it be considered necessary that *all* the candidates both of this country and of India should be subjected to the *same* examination, papers for both written and *visà voce* examinations can be sent from here, to be opened in India in the examination rooms on the same day as they are opened here; and in the case of the *visà voce* examinations (whether papers are sent or not, or questions additional to those given in the papers are put by the examiner for obtaining fully the object of the *visà voce* examinations), if the examiners are required to write down all the questions put and answers given, with such remarks as may occur to them as to the manner of the replies of each candidate, the Commissioners here will be well able to control the whole examination, and bring it to a common standard. If, on the other hand, the Government of India be left to carry out the examination in India, there will be no difficulty whatever in finding a competent staff of examiners. It is neither desirable, nor should it be expected by the natives, that the English portion of the service should not be larger than the native; and a small portion of the annual appointments left to be competed for in India, is all, I think, that they can at present fairly ask. In that case the latter plan of leaving to the Government of India to conduct the examinations would be preferable. The chief objection to this latter plan is that by a separate examination a native may come in who may be inferior to the English candidates rejected here. To avoid this difficulty, either the first plan of "same papers" must be adopted; or, if the Government of India adopt a sufficiently high standard of examinations and a high minimum, considering that the number of appointments will be very small indeed compared with the number of candidates who are likely to compete in such a large population, the successful candidates will not only be comparatively, but absolutely, good and superior men. Again, on the other hand, the chief objection to the "same examination for all" is that as the number of candidates will be in the course of time much larger in India than here, on account of the immensely larger population from which they will come, there is some chance that the Commissioners may find a much larger number of natives coming high than the

Secretary of State may think desirable to give appointments to. If, therefore, any natives are then rejected and their English inferiors are selected, the cry of injustice will naturally arise, which contingency ought, I think, to be avoided. Upon the whole, therefore, I think leaving the examination to the Government of India, with a sufficiently high standard, will be the most practicable plan, as the chance is very slight of inferior men passing in a very large competition. Again, whether the examinations should be held in some one place only, or at all the Presidency towns, is another question. This can be well left to the Viceroy. Each Presidency is so large a country by itself that, if a distribution of the appointments were made among them, the work of the examiners will be ample, and the civil servants being thus drawn from the different localities of India, a larger and more varied experience will be introduced into the service than if they were all or most of them drawn from one province only, which I think will be an advantage. These details, however, had better be left to the judgment of the Secretary of State.

As to the general character of the candidates, the certificates will be mostly from the English heads of their colleges, about whom certainly nobody can object that they would not be as conscientious and honest as the heads of the colleges here. The weight of any other certificates that may be produced by the candidates can easily be judged of by the examining authorities. In short, Government may adopt such rules as they may deem necessary to get the Indian candidate of the same level with the English, whether in acquirements, *character*, *physical energy*, or in any other particular. If the natives fail in coming up to a fair standard, it would be their own fault; *they only ask a fair trial*. Now suppose any inefficient person by some accident found admission into the service (which is very unlikely in a large competition for very few places), or suppose that after admission the integrity of any was not found satisfactory; there is no difficulty for Government in discharging such a person. By his appointment once he does not become a permanent fixture. Nor is it incumbent upon Government to promote any servant who does not prove his fitness for promotion. So there is no reason whatever why the enactment of Parliament or the proclamation of our Sovereign should not be fairly carried out, and the mere bugbear of the fear that some native *employé* may misbehave himself be allowed to interfere with a necessary act of justice and policy.

As to the locality for the examinations, Clause XXXII. of the Act of 1858 does not fix any. The Secretary of State for India is not prevented from holding examinations where he may think necessary.

The second question will be the necessary expenditure, but it is only natural and quite evident that the natives would only be too glad to have any necessary portion of the revenue devoted to such purposes.

I need not here do more than simply state that the two requests made in our memorial have been by some confounded with each other as alternatives, but you are aware they are not so. The very wording of the second request and the speech of Sir H. Edwards shows that the two requests have two different objects: the first to give a fair, free, and impartial chance to the natives to enter the Indian Civil Service on the same footing as Englishmen, and the second to send out natives in various independent professions to India, "where by degrees they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers."

When I moved the memorial, I did not go further into this matter than pointing out that our Sovereign and the Parliament, and the press as representing the people of this country, and the present Government were of the one opinion which is expressed in the words I have quoted before from an Act of Parliament and from the proclamation of our Sovereign. Even now the press of this country, while commenting on the Blue Book of the comparison of the British and native rule, have almost unanimously declared that a fair field for the aspiration of natives of ability and character is one of the most important wants of the British rule, both to make it beloved as well as efficient. I also then urged that the best interest of the service required that the first competition for selection should take place in India, in order that the selection of qualified natives may not be made from a small body only, but to select the *best* talent and character from the *whole* talent and character of the country.

With such a clear case of law, justice, and necessity, we may think, and properly too, that I should have nothing more to say, and that my paper should end here. So I had thought on the occasion of proposing the memorial, but as some objections have



been since started from quarters, no matter of whatever character, and as it is likely that some members of Parliament may desire to know the value of these objections, though, as I have explained before, they are all now quite irrelevant, I discuss them one by one.

1. "That the natives are not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity, and physical power and energy."

The reports of the education department of India and of the administrative departments show what the abilities and acquirements of the natives are, and how offices of trust and responsibility hitherto entrusted to educated Indians have been discharged by them.

The testimony as to the ability and intelligence of the natives is now complete, that the intellect of the natives of India is equal to that of any other people. Its ancient literature speaks for itself, and the result of modern education is that its universities declare, year after year, that their work is successful, and that graduates begin to number by hundreds, and undergraduates by thousands. I shall revert to this point again shortly, in connection with the question of integrity.

With regard to the general integrity and character of the whole nation, it would be too long to go over the ground I have once treated in my paper on the European and Asiatic races. Nor is it at present necessary for me to do so, as the question now before us is not the indiscriminate employment of natives generally in high offices of trust and responsibility, but only of that class which proves itself qualified by its high education, ability, and character. Now, it would be a strange commentary on the educational results of the English colleges in India (which are very justly regarded, both by the English nation and the natives, as one of the greatest boons and blessings conferred by England upon India), and on the character of all English intellectual, moral, and scientific literature, if the highly educated youths of these colleges did not also attain to high moral character. But as in the immutable order of nature a good seed can never produce bad fruit, especially in a soil that has once proved itself fertile, it is not the fact that the education of these colleges does not raise the sense of moral duty of the students. I might here reason out a long argument to show why the natives ought to be and are as good as any other people under similar circumstances; but, as any length of argument or number of assertions will not carry conviction home to those who have now to pronounce on this point so completely as a few actual facts, I applied myself to this task. Before I give you the result, I have to make one observation. I do not do this in any spirit of recrimination, or ill-feeling, nor do I wish to urge the delinquencies of any one class as any justification for those of another; but it is only in simple fairness and justice that I ask English gentlemen to make proper allowances. Those gentlemen who so often cast stones at the want of integrity and the corruption of the natives, should not forget how some Englishmen in India, in former days, were suddenly transformed into rich nawabs; how Mr. Drake got his Rs. 280,000; or how a number of others got their laces to slide with one or other of the contending native princes, to the tune of some millions sterling within nine years, from 1757 to 1766,\* and how, after selling their power and influence in India in the above manner, the Company bought their power in the English legislature, by bribing in the legislature to something like 90,000*l.* in the year 1693; † how the Company's servants cheated their own masters; how, in Mr. Mills' words, in one matter, "The conduct of the Company's servants upon this occasion furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame."‡ It is natural for gentlemen who have received a high education, and who begin their Indian service or life with high pay or profits, and high prospects, to feel indignant at the bribery and corruption of the poor people with low education, low pay or profits, and low prospects, and exclaim how can such things be. But if those gentlemen would only observe a little more around themselves, observe the amount of fraud and "doing" in this metropolis, if they would only remember the cry very recently raised against butchers and grocers, and discounts for servants, the convictions for false weights, the puffs of advertisements, the corruption among the "independent and intelligent electors," and their respectable corruptors, that, as said above, English gentlemen bought and sold power, and that several Englishmen from the lower classes are not behaving quite creditably in India now, &c., they will then see that such things not only can be, but are to be found even in this country under similar

\* MILLS' 'British India,' vol. iii., ed. 1826, p. 326. †

† Ibid., vol. i., ed. 1826, p. 115.

‡ Ibid., vol. iii., ed. 1826, p. 300.

circumstances, learn to make allowances for similar phenomena among other people, and agree in the "decided conviction" expressed by the Court of Directors,\* that "we have no right to calculate on them (the natives) resisting temptations to which the generality of mankind in the same circumstances would yield."

The real question now, gentlemen, is whether, when natives are as highly educated as Englishmen, they attain to the same character for integrity or not, whatever may be the difference of opinion about the character of the whole nation, or of native agency generally.

I have collected a large amount of testimony with regard to native agency. Here I have in my hand a pamphlet of ninety-five pages, entitled 'Evidences relating to the Efficiency of Native Agency in India, published under the superintendence of the British India Society, reprinted with a supplement by the British Indian Association, Calcutta, 1853.' This pamphlet contains a collection of the testimony of Indian officials up to 1853. We have further in the Parliamentary reports of the same year a large amount of evidence on the same subject, and also a good deal scattered over in different works, or in periodical literature. But for our present purpose nearly the whole of this mass of evidence is inapplicable; and therefore useless to lay before you. All this evidence has been chiefly upon the question of native agency *generally*, but the present question is not the efficiency and integrity of the natives generally, but of the particular body who can pass the ordeal of a high examination and produce satisfactory testimony of character. I therefore thought proper to request several Indian officials now resident in this country to give me their opinion. I addressed the following letter:—

"I shall be exceedingly obliged if you would kindly give me your opinion as to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian service in offices of trust and responsibility."

To this inquiry several gentlemen have kindly replied. I give you all these replies in Appendix A, and leave you to judge for yourselves. Out of the testimony already published I give you a few extracts only in the same appendix, which directly bear upon the present question. It will be observed that the appended testimony represents *all* parts of India. Sir W. Denison's opinion appears unfavourable. He admits that there *are*, even though as exceptions, some natives who *are* serving the state with efficiency. Now it is only for men like these, and who can also prove their character, no matter whether they are few or many, that our memorial asks for free admission. It is only those natives who can prove their ability by passing through a severe ordeal, and who can also prove their character by satisfactory testimony (and not natives indiscriminately), that we ask admission for. And even after such natives are admitted, if any is found wanting, either in efficiency or integrity, there is nothing to prevent Government from dismissing him. Nor is Government bound to promote, unless satisfied with the merits of any servant. Against Sir W. Denison's opinion representing Madras, we have, on the other hand, a different opinion from Lord Harris, Sir C. Trevelyan, General Briggs, and Mr. Edward Maltby. On a fair estimate of the whole evidence, I venture to conclude that the educated natives of India, when employed in the public service, *have* proved their efficiency and integrity. My humble testimony may be worthless, especially in a matter in which I am one of the petitioners; but I think I may at least say what I conscientiously believe, that as a native, and therefore having good opportunity of knowing the private character of the educated natives of the Bombay Presidency, many of whom were my students, fellow-students, friends, acquaintances, or fellow-labourers in public movements (without undertaking to give an opinion as to their efficiency, though I know well their ability), I conscientiously believe that their integrity is undoubted, and that they are actuated by a true and genuine sense of moral duty in their good conduct and public spirit. Among them a spirit of condemning any lapse of duty, to the want of which, among natives generally, Sir R. Wallace alludes, is getting very strong, and the severest reproach that any one administers to another is to tell him that he did not behave in a way worthy of his education. The feeling among them is very strong, that their high education demands from them a high moral character, and a performance of their duties. I can give extracts of open censure from the native press. Our present rulers may well be proud of such result of their educational establishments, and point to it as one of their strongest claims upon our loyalty and gratitude. It only now remains for our rulers to let such results bear good fruit, instead of running into discontent and mischief, by giving a fair and

\* Letter to Bengal Government, dated 23rd July, 1824.

reasonable scope for the talent evolved. The question is simple: either the natives must be allowed to have a fair share in the administration of the country, or the nation must be kept ignorant, and the rulers take the chances of the results of such ignorance and hatred for foreign rule combined therewith.

I am glad to say that as far as I am aware of the views of some of the English principals and professors of the colleges in the Bombay Presidency, they are the same with mine, and it is with much pleasure I find that Sir A. Grant, the present Director of Public Instruction, has distinctly recorded his opinion as follows. In his report as Principal of Elphinstone College,\* for 1862-63, he says, "As far as my experience goes, nothing can be more untrue than the common notion that English education is injurious to the moral principle of natives. In the College, I have invariably found that students improve in trustworthiness and respectability in direct ratio to their improvement as scholars." Any doubts about the physical energy or pluck of the candidates can easily be removed by requiring any tests for the purpose. Certainly the people with whose assistance, as the native army, the British Indian Empire has been mostly built up, cannot be pronounced as wanting in physical power and energy. They ought to have a fair trial. From the political cause of long subjection to foreign rules, and several religious and social causes, it cannot be denied that the people of several portions of India are enervated,—those of Lower Bengal I am told especially; and some Englishmen, observing the effeminacy of these people, have drawn the general conclusion with regard to all India. But about this very people Mr. Anstey told us the other day:† "Who were the Sykhs when their prophet first found them out? Poor miserable starving fugitives from Bengal, of whom their great founder, knowing well the stuff from which Asiatics were made, looking with a prophetic eye into the future, said, 'I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle.' In comparison with the great dignity of Aurungzebe, it was the sparrow as compared to the eagle, and in less than a century the sparrow did strike the eagle."

Let, therefore, the natives once feel that it is time for them to shake off this effeminacy, and that, under the blessing and ægis of the British rule, there is full scope for the head, heart, and hand, and I have no doubt that they will prove themselves worthy of the power and civilization they once possessed, and of the blessing of the new regeneration now bestowed upon them by the light of the higher enlightenment and civilization of the West by their British rulers.

In short, whatever may be the value of the objection as to the efficiency, integrity, and energy of the natives, the very fact that none can find admission into the service who are not qualified as required removes the objection altogether. I once more wish to impress that it is not only the willingness of a native to be examined that will find him admission into the examination-room, but he will have to prove to the satisfaction of Government that he is a person of character, in the same way as the candidate is required to do here; that his further promotion will be entirely in the hands of Government, and his failure will bring dismissal.

2. "That Europeans would not like to serve under the natives."

This I cannot help considering as a libel on the English character. I have a much higher opinion of it than to believe that Englishmen are not capable of appreciating and respecting true merit. Moreover, facts disprove this objection. The native judges of the high as well as the subordinate courts, and natives in any other position of eminence, are respected by English subordinates. Englishmen serve both here and in India native masters with every respect. In the Bombay dockyard, Englishmen served under native superiors. In short, it would be strange if it were otherwise, for Englishmen are especially alive to merit. Why, if there be any Englishmen in the service, who should be so lost to their sense of duty and appreciation of true merit as to be reluctant to serve under natives of merit, they do not deserve to be in the service at all.

3. "That native officials are not much respected by the natives, and are envied and slandered."

This objection can only be the result of the ignorance of the feelings of the natives towards officials of real merit, be they Englishmen or natives. The gratification of seeing their own countrymen rise in dignity and honour is naturally as great among the natives as among any other people. That narrow-minded or interested people will

\* Bombay Education Report, 1862-63, p. 91.

† 'Journal of the East India Association,' No. 2, p. 182.

envy others is a trait which can be met with as much among any other people as among the natives of India. Only some weeks ago I read in the 'Hindu Reformer' of Bombay, of 15th January last, "We hail with excessive joy the selection of Mr. Mhadeo Govind Ranade, M.A., LL.B., Nayadhis of Kolapore, to fill the chair of English Literature and History in the Elphinstone College. . . . The honour which is thus conferred on Mr. Ranade is as much deserved by him as it is suggestive of his superior accomplishments as a scholar, and we have not the slightest doubt that it will cause much satisfaction to all who take an interest in the cause of the education of the youth of this Presidency." This is a fair specimen of the feelings of the natives towards their countrymen of merit. I can give more extracts if necessary. When I was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the same college, I can candidly say that I think I was looked upon with very kindly feelings by my countrymen around me generally, as well as by the students of the College and the masters of the school departments. The feelings of my European colleagues were so kind towards me that I shall always remember them with pleasure and gratitude.

Turning to official testimony, I think none can be more satisfactory and complete than the following:—

In one of the Government Gazettes of Calcutta, of last year, the following paragraph appeared:—"The Governor-General in Council has received, with sincere regret, official intimation of the death of the Honourable Shamboonath Pandit, one of the Judges of Her Majesty's High Court at Fort William. The Honourable the Chief Justice in communicating this intelligence to the Governor-General has said, 'So far as Mr. Justice Shamboonath Pandit was concerned, the experiment of appointing a native gentleman to a seat in the High Court has succeeded. He had a considerable knowledge of his profession, and a thorough acquaintance with the natives. I have always found him upright, honourable, and independent, and I believe that he was looked up to by his countrymen with respect and confidence.' The interest which both in India and England attaches to the experiment of placing a native gentleman in the highest judicial situation in the country has induced the Governor-General in Council to make public the opinion of the Honourable the Chief Justice, in which his Excellency entirely agrees."

Certainly the above extracts prove anything but envy. They also disprove the first objection as to the ability and character of the natives. Sir A. Grant is no ordinary judge of scholarship, and that *he* should appoint a native as Professor of English Literature and History speaks volumes. The testimony of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice about Pandit Shamboonath speaks for itself.

The Court of Directors say, "The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen," &c. &c.

The North-West Provinces report that the Courts of Honorary Magistrates appear to possess the confidence of the people.†

4. "That natives look too much to Government employment, and do not show sufficient independence of character to strike out for themselves other paths of life."

This is also contrary to facts, and has its origin in superficial observation, or in the knowledge of particular localities. That they should look to Government appointments, and wish to aspire to a share in the administration of their own country, is only as natural with them as with Englishmen here. Until lately there were very few openings for educated men. The legal profession being now open to them, many are going to it. The medical profession is availed of as far as it can be, in spite of the prejudices against dissection. But, except at the Presidency and some other large towns, an educated doctor can hardly get practice suited to his position; the number, therefore, of well-educated practitioners who can at present pursue this profession with profit is limited. The fact that European doctors chiefly confine themselves to the Presidency and some few other towns, shows that the field for educated medical men is not yet very large. The educated theological profession has yet to be created, except among native Christians. The Gujurati Hindus of India have been merchants from time immemorial, and they are still as enterprising as ever. There is a large internal commerce carried on by the natives. Many among educated natives would gladly become merchants, or follow other professions, if they had the

\* 'Educational Despatch of 1854,' p. 77.

† 'Return, Moral, &c., Progress, 1867,' p. 88.

requisite capital or means. During the years 1862-64, when there was such a rush for trade and speculation, many natives left Government service. The manufactures of England, especially textile, have broken down very much the corresponding industries of India; and now, as the establishment of manufactories is a question of large capital, it is naturally shut to those who do not possess it. Still, several natives get employment in such as are established. In railways and other works they are ready to be employed. Besides, civil and marine engineering is adopted by several.

In short, this objection may be answered briefly in this way—that there are only about 400 natives in Government service at a salary above 300*l.* per annum and upwards (see Return 201-206, 1858, 223; sec. ii. 1859). What do all those other thousands of natives do who are also earning as much? So far as the native finds an independent opening, he does not fail to take advantage of it. I know from my experience of the educated natives of the Bombay Presidency, that they are very glad to have independent careers.

So far was I convinced of this and of the necessity of affording facilities for new careers, that I made an attempt in 1864 to adopt some means to enable highly-talented natives to continue their studies for professional careers *after* completing their college education. One of the natives of Bombay offered a *lnc.* and some others Rs. 175,000 for two fellowships of Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 per month respectively, and asked Government to contribute as much; but unfortunately the offer was not accepted by Government.

In addition to these fellowships, which were intended to encourage high education and high independent careers, there was also started for the less educated, and the enterprising spirits generally, a "Students' Loan Company," to lend money at moderate interest to persons wishing to visit England and other places, to complete their education or to learn any trade, art, or profession. The Rs. 300 fellowship and the Students' Loan Company were intended for the benefit of all India. The commercial crash broke down all these proposals. I don't think that there can be any question that the natives do *not* look to Government employments any more than the people of any other country in similar circumstances. Supposing, however, for argument's sake, that there was among the natives some tendency to look a little too much to Government employments, that certainly can be no good reason that they should therefore be debarred from aspiring to a reasonable extent to a share in the service of their own country when *qualified* by their ability and character. It is said that this tendency was observed in Lower Bengal, but, even in that part of India, the tendency, if it ever existed to any unreasonable extent, is now changing. The body of independent barristers, solicitors, and *vakeels*, doctors, and merchants shows that even the Bengalees are not blind to the advantages of independent careers as they become open to them.

5. "That, though natives may prove good subordinates, they are not fitted to be placed at the head of any department."

Without giving a fair trial, such an objection is, to say the least, very unreasonable. Besides, the objection is not borne out by facts. In any instances in which natives have been put in positions of trust and responsibility, they have shown themselves equal to their duties, as you must have seen from the evidence I have read to you. If, in any case, Government found inefficiency, there could be no difficulty in removing it, just as it does with English servants. Moreover, after getting admission into the service, the natives would not be put at the head all at once. They will have to show their efficiency, and to work their way up; and Government will have every opportunity of testing whom they can trust and whom not with higher positions.

6. "That natives who seek for admission into the civil service should be first Anglicised."

The education that natives receive in India is in itself a process of Anglicising them, with this advantage, that they retain the sympathy and knowledge of their own country; and if a native is required to visit this country after his selection by the first competition, the object of the visit to this country will be realized. If it be thought that two years' visit to this country is not enough, there can be no difficulty in arranging and requiring the native successful candidates to spend a little longer time here; because the reasons why English candidates are required to go to India at an early age do not apply to the natives, as the natives do not require to be acclimatized, nor do they require the same time to leave the character, thoughts, and habits of the people that foreigners do.

I do not mean to say that young boys should not also be brought here for education. But there are many difficulties and troubles for taking care of them. Unless good care is taken to keep them within the charm of the circle of good society, there is some danger of evil instead of good resulting. When those educated in India come here at a mature age, everything they see is novel to them, every moment of their sojourn here is valuable, and spent in comparisons; they return to India *enthusiastic*, and do much good. We know what good a Karsandas Moolji or a Dosabloy Franjee has done to their country by their visits here. Now, it is not to be understood that the objections given above to very young boys coming here, or what I have said in favour of visits at a greater age, apply generally. There are some youths under my care for several years, who I am sure will do credit to themselves and benefit to their country. I give the above *pros* and *cons* not as a speculation, but the actual result of my experience during the past twelve years, during which time a good many youths have been under my care, coming here at different ages, from about ten to twenty-one. Upon the whole, I think that the necessity of coming here at an early age cannot be reasonably urged against holding examinations in India. There is much to be said in favour of both early and late visits to this country, and the best course will be to have a proper proportion of both. As I shall point out hereafter, there are strong objections urged to making compulsory any visit at all to this country, either before or after selection, on account of the caste difficulty for the Hindus, who form the majority of the native population.

7. "That natives ought not to be put in positions of power."

If the British rule is to be based on willing consent and sincere loyalty, it is necessary that means be adopted to give the natives an interest in and a gratitude for the British rule, by giving them a reasonable share and voice in the administration of the country. If India is a trust for the good of India, that trust ought to be faithfully discharged. It is rather strange that there should ever have been at this day a necessity to ask whether the British or native rule was more liked by the natives. The question should have been by this time put beyond all doubt. There is no comparison between law above sovereign and sovereign above law. I must wait for another opportunity to give my views fully on this subject. If, instead of fearing to give a reasonable share of power to the natives, our rulers would do what remains to be done, they may well challenge the whole world to say whether they have not acted nobly. Unless the people are taught what British rule and machinery of administration are, and are brought up with the idea that the British rule is a blessing to them, it is simply unreasonable to hope that they could appreciate what they do not understand. We may as well expect the blind to appreciate a painting. If with this knowledge, by national education, is associated a gratification of the high aspirations and patriotic feelings of the educated native for a voice and share in the government of his country, and if the material prosperity of the mass is promoted by a bold policy for public works to develop the resources of the country, and if the princes and the aristocracy be sure of good faith with them, and receive the benefit of good advice, Britain may well point to its handiwork with pride, and India may for ever remember with gratitude the hand that raised it. If, in consideration of the interest which England has to retain her power in India, it gave India the benefit of all her influence and credit, by guaranteeing the Indian debt, the relief to India of some two millions a year will go far to the attainment of the other objects. Great indeed would that statesman be, the benefactor of India, who would achieve this glorious work of regenerating a nation of 200 millions. If the British don't prove better rulers, why should they be in India? However, be the value of the above remarks what it may, one thing is certain, that among the remedies pointed out, and those I think as necessary to make the British rule popular and beloved, this one at least, of giving freely and impartially to the natives a share in the administration of the country, is admitted on all hands, by those who have given their opinions to the Viceroy, and their reviewers in the Press and Parliament. I will just remark here that, in connection with the necessity of giving a voice in the application of the revenues, the very modest proposal made in a petition by the British Indian Association of Calcutta, reported in the 'Times of India,' Summary, of 7th March last, will, I hope, have due consideration from the Secretary of State for India.

That there is no danger in entrusting power to educated natives is proved by the well-known fact that they understand and appreciate most the benefits of English rule, and, in the words of Sir B. Frere, "And now, wherever I go, I find the best

exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able coadjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the natives of India, among the ranks of the educated natives," &c., &c. I also showed this at some length in my paper on "England's Duties to India."

8. "That the places obtained by the natives will be so many less to the English people."

The mere statement of this objection is its own condemnation as to its selfishness and want of a due sense of justice, statesmanship, and the high moral responsibilities of the British in India. It is the plain duty of Government to secure the most efficient service they can, and for that purpose let the words proclaimed in the name of the Sovereign be honestly fulfilled, "that as far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be *freely and impartially* admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge." To compel the natives to come to England for competition for service in their own country is no more reasonable, free, or impartial, than it would be to compel Englishmen to go to India or Australia for admission into the Civil Service in England.

9. "That natives are already largely employed."

The facts, however, are these. There are above 1700 Europeans in the covenanted services in India at a cost of above three millions per annum, at a salary of from 240*l.* to 25,000*l.* per annum (Return 116 to 1860). There are 849 Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the uncovenanted service, at salaries of 300*l.* and upwards; while of natives there are only about 600 at a salary at and above 240*l.* a year (Return 201—vi. 1858, 223, sec. ii., 1859), of whom about 350 are between 240*l.* and 360*l.* per annum. This return will also show how very few—only about a dozen—natives there are at salaries at and above 840*l.* a year. Since these returns there have been some few more high positions given to the natives, but I cannot say whether there is yet any or more than one or two above the salary of 2000*l.* per annum.

In my remarks of course I don't mean to say that there are not, and would not hereafter be, found black sheep among the educated natives as among any other people, but that in a fair trial the natives will come up to the average of ability and honesty of any other people.

There is only one more point to which I wish to draw your attention. To the Hindoo caste question is socially of great importance till the system is broken down. It may be said that a candidate for the Civil Service ought to show that he has the moral courage to break through such trammels. This he would do by his visit to this country *after* his selection, but it is certainly not reasonable to expect that any one should subject himself to great sacrifices both of money and social position on the risk of the uncertain result of his venture. If he succeeds in his competition in India, he acquires a certain position of respect, and he can then well undertake the journey to this country with the 100*l.* for the first year, and 200*l.* for the second year, which will be allowed to him by Government, with the double object of completing his qualifications and of giving a finish to his education, and of dealing with the trammels of caste with advantage. It is not proper to sneer at the cowardice of submitting to the caste system. The English even now have their trammels in other shapes, as of fashions, society, &c., and had till very lately their exclusive guilds. The English ought also not to forget at what cost reformatations have taken place in Europe, and what previous preparation of the revival of knowledge has been necessary, and has led to them. The Hindú institution of caste has a growth of centuries, and over a people numbering above a hundred and fifty millions. It is so intimately mixed with some of the most important social relations of births, deaths, and marriages, that due allowance ought to be made for the difficulties and sacrifices of overcoming its difficulties.

Some English and native gentlemen, with much effect, urge that the Hindús should not be subjected to this sacrifice at all, by being required to come to this country even *after* selection. When I consider the advantages of travelling in foreign countries, which is so much considered of for the youth of this country even, when I see the necessity of the natives in high positions being able to deal with English officials on a footing of equality in the knowledge of the world, especially of the English world, I cannot help still urging that the visit to this country *after* the selection should be insisted on; though I think the first Hindús coming here, even *after* the selection, will have to put up with much inconvenience and sacrifice, and be something of martyrs in a good cause.



I am also emboldened to adhere to this opinion by finding that some of the native papers of Bombay, conducted by *Hindis* themselves, have also expressed their views that the visit to this country after selection is desirable. Moreover, in the petition from the Bombay Association, adopted at a large and influential meeting at the house of its President, the Hon. Munguldass Nathooobhoy, and by last advice being extensively signed by all classes of natives, it is also proposed, "that if necessary they (the selected candidates) may be required to proceed to England to receive a course of special training, prescribed by the existing regulations, for which there are greater facilities in Europe than in India." Besides, though there may be some inconveniences to the first native civilians, the respectability of their position, and the certainty of the number of such officials increasing every year, will give them in time sufficient weapons to fight their battles against losing caste. Also, if I am not mistaken in my impression, I think the following circumstance has already met the difficulty, or at least prepared the way for the visitors to this country, after their selection, being able to deal with some ease and power with the question of losing caste. I remember, whether from reading or from conversation I cannot tell, that his Highness the Holkar intended to send some pundits to this country. He called a meeting of the learned Brahmins, and asked their opinion. It was decided, in that assembly, that persons going abroad for State purposes do not lose caste, because in the glory and height of Hindu power ambassadors went to different courts for state purposes. If so, that will be just the proper argument for selected candidates. After their selection, being servants of the State, and being required by their Sovereign to visit this country for qualifying themselves for State purposes, they cannot lose caste.

It is said by some that if Government grant the second part of our memorial, by conferring scholarships upon youths after a certain competition, those youths will be able to study for the service and compete here; and the object of opening the service freely and impartially to the natives of India will be gained. Nothing can be a greater mistake, I think. Now it must be borne in mind that the scholarships are intended to leave the scholars holding them free to pursue whatever professional study they like, in order especially to create an independent class of educated native gentlemen. If the stipend of these scholarships is sufficient to enable youths to come here, its natural effect will be that most of them will prefer other independent professions, as certain in their results, to studying for the Indian service with the risk of failure, and the want of opportunity to learn any profession afterwards. Then to the Hindu the failure in the competition here will be the greatest injury possible; for having first incurred the penalties of losing caste, and the displeasure of his friends, the mark of failure on his forehead, no matter whether deserved or not, would render him an object of ridicule among his countrymen. Such an amount of sacrifice it is utterly unreasonable and cruel to exact. But after he is selected in India, and is sure of his position, it is reasonable for important purposes that some sacrifice and inconvenience should be asked from him. There is another way in which mere dependence upon these scholarships will not secure the free admission of the best talent of the country. We must remember that it is not the horse who makes the best start that always wins. So by this plan of scholarships, if even all studied for the Indian service, contrary to the real object, the State will be spending money upon good starters only, whether they may ultimately succeed or not. But by allowing the competition in India, the State without this expenditure gets the actual winners of the race in a competition of a large number, who have proved their mental calibre as well as their character, by their stay through a trying college course and by fulfilling all the conditions of ability and character for admission, and who at an advanced age can be left by their friends to act as they like, and are able to take care of themselves. While the boys are very young, many parents would be unwilling to allow their sons to go to a distant country out of their own care, and thus again the area of selection for the scholarships will be much limited, but young men at the age required for the competition are more free to act and more able to take care of themselves. So that we then have a competition among all those who have proved talent and character. You will see, therefore, that though these scholarships may remove the obstacle of money, there are, in the case of the *Hindis* especially—who, it must be borne in mind, form the principal population of India—other most serious obstacles, which can only be dealt with by transferring the examination for a portion of the selection to India.

The Governor-General in his resolution last year admits that "he is fully alive to the urgent political necessity that the progress of education has created, for opening up

to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of British India;" and, as the remedy, his Excellency recognizes the eligibility of natives for only some higher grades in the non-regulation provinces. First of all, the natural effect of this will be, that those serving and living in those provinces will very likely have in time the little benefit thus held out, while in the regulation provinces—those in which education has advanced most—the natives of which have the greatest claim for a share in the administration as British subjects of long standing, should be required to incur all the sacrifices and risks (which to the Hindus are of no ordinary order) involved in a visit to this country for several years as youths. If the political necessity is so emphatically admitted by the Viceroy, I do not see how it is possible to rest satisfied with offering a few situations in the non-regulation provinces. Mark again, it is only to men of ability and character. If so, how can anything short of a free competition in India give a satisfactory fulfilment to this political necessity, and an honest performance of the promise of our gracious Sovereign?

Such honest and candid declarations of necessity and justice, when followed by poor and inadequate fulfilment, naturally create dissatisfaction and irritation.

It is said that high appointments in the uncovenanted service may be given to natives in the regulation provinces also; but if qualified natives are to be trusted with such high appointments in the uncovenanted service, in regulation or non-regulation provinces, why are they unfit to enter the covenanted service? Certainly no one means to say that high uncovenanted appointments require less trustworthiness, responsibility, respect, or confidence than covenanted appointments. Has the word "uncovenanted" such a charm that it at once removes all those objections which are urged against the free and impartial admission of qualified natives into the covenanted service? If the declarations of Government are sincere, of which I have no doubt, then I see no escape for the honest fulfilment of the words of our Sovereign and Parliament, from holding examinations in India, as proposed by us, so as to put *all* Her Majesty's subjects on a fairly equal footing.

Again, in the uncovenanted service also, the principle of appointment or promotion should be fitness, no matter whether the right person be European or native, only that the principle should be honestly adhered to.

It is sometimes urged that natives do not learn for learning's sake. It is strange anybody could be expected to appreciate a thing before he knows what it is. Educated natives fully appreciate learning.

I hope, gentlemen, I have satisfied you that educated natives have already shown ability and character as among any other people (and which is tacitly admitted by the Viceroy himself), and that the only honest way of fulfilling the promise of our Sovereign and Acts of Parliament, of securing the best talent for the service, and of increasing the loyalty and gratitude of India, is by giving a free admission to such natives of ability and character by competition in India.

You will have observed that I have not entered into any discussion of the great benefit to the administration and of the encouragement and inducement to high education, not only among the people generally, but among the higher and aristocratic classes, by the granting of our petition. The whole of India will by this concession be quite electrified. But as on this point there is no doubt or question, it is unnecessary for me to take up your time, nor could I enter on it fully in this paper.

Now, gentlemen, I have said my say, and leave to you to say or act as you think proper. I conclude by moving the resolution of which I have given notice:—

"That a letter be addressed to the Secretary of State for India, with a copy of this paper, to request him to take it into his consideration, and in reply to Mr. H. Fawcett's motion, to accede to the memorial presented on 21st August last by a deputation from this Association."\*

\* Appendix B.

## APPENDIX A.

*Reply from Sir R. MONTGOMERY, 23rd March, 1868.*

I have not had any experience of the educated natives of India. I conclude you mean those who have received a European education at the Presidency towns.

But I have been associated for years with natives who have risen to positions of trust under the Government in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab, and I have a very high opinion of their efficiency and integrity.

I like to see such a class brought more and more into the Government—men who have proved themselves to be good servants of Government.

I enclose a memo. that may interest you, and which I wrote a few days ago.\*

*Reply from Sir HERBERT EDWARDES, 23rd March, 1868.*

In reply to your note of the 21st, I do not clearly understand what you mean by the term "educated natives." I have been employed in civil and political duties since 1846, and have wide experience of native officials in India, mostly educated in the native courses of study. Their ability and general efficiency in the administration of affairs is *very great indeed*; but I grieve to say that I cannot give the same testimony to their integrity. The one great difficulty in the civil administration of India, judicial, fiscal, or police, is the readiness of the people to corrupt, and of the native officials to be corrupted. The daily and hourly task of English officers is that of saving the people from themselves. The conviction which I have derived from a life in that country is that the Indian *intellect* is of the highest order, and that the sole want of India is a *moral regeneration*. He who will help this on is the real friend of India.

Measures which are not in this direction will turn out to be whitewash.

*Second Letter to Sir H. EDWARDES from DADABHAI NAOROJI, 24th March, 1868.*

Many thanks for your letter of yesterday. Kindly excuse for troubling again. What I desire to know is, whether, as far as you are aware, that particular class of natives who have received education in the English colleges of India have discharged with integrity or not the duties of trust and responsibility with which they have been entrusted.

*Reply from Sir H. EDWARDES, 25th March, 1868.*

In reply to your note of the 24th, I can certainly say that I have found among those native officials who had been educated in the English colleges of India more trustworthiness and a higher moral sense than in the mass of native officials who had received the ordinary education. Indeed, the only two native officials that I can recall whose integrity I considered as unimpeachable and reliable as that of English gentlemen were of this class. Both were educated at the Delhi College. Both were Brahmins, but one became a Christian in after life.

*Reply from Sir HENRY RICKETTS, 29th March, 1868.*

I think the best answer to your last note is the enclosed copy of my reply to an address presented to me by natives of Bengal when I left India.

*Extracts from Mr. (now Sir) HENRY RICKETTS' Reply to an Address by the Natives of Bengal, Calcutta, January, 1860.*

"Neither do I desire to claim credit for having been guided by duty only, for I soon learned to like intercourse with the people, and my labour, as it is called, became one of the pleasures of my life.

"And now, how is it when I look back? What has been the return I have received for treating the people of this country with consideration?

"The return has been confiding trust, regard, and genuine gratitude.

\* This memorandum is printed in 'The Times' of 30th March, 1868.

"You speak approvingly of the settlements of Cuttack and Chittagong. They were useful works. They have now stood the test of years, and the soundness of the proceedings is more than admitted—it is proved by the condition of the two provinces and the temper of the inhabitants. But those works were not accomplished, and never could have been accomplished, without the assistance of native officers, without their intelligence, their industry, and their honesty. I emphatically repeat that last word—their honesty. The experience of others may differ from my experience; but wherever I hear of failure in the employment of native agency, I cannot help surmising that there must have been some mistake in the management; for I declare that, throughout my long experience, the more I have trusted native officers, the more faithful they have been found. I do not say that I have never been disappointed, but I hope I have avoided the too common mistake of doubting the many because a few failed. I would not have it supposed that I consider it desirable to place natives immediately in high executive posts.

"The time is not come for that, but with good government it will come; and I hope that before long some, if not all, of the offices that I have recommended should be opened to all classes, may be held by the East Indians and natives.

"You may be assured, my friends, that the Queen's Proclamation will not become a dead letter. Your interest and your rights will always be considered; and as you show yourselves to be improved in fitness, I trust you will obtain an increasing share in the administration of your country.

"I shall gladly meet your wishes that I should sit for my portrait. I shall like, though it be in effigy, still to be among a people who have kindly appreciated all my good intentions, indulgently tolerated all my mistakes, and forgiven all my faults, and oftentimes have patiently, nay more, have contentedly submitted to what they must have considered injury at my hands, from a sure conviction that had it been avoidable, they would have been spared.

"And now, gentlemen, farewell! I feel assured that a bright future is in store for this country; and be assured that it is England's wish that, in that future, India's interest, no less than England's, should be exalted—they are the same."

*Reply from Sir EDWARD RYAN, 23rd March, 1868.*

I think, in asking me to answer your questions relating to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian services and offices of trust and responsibility, you have not recollected that it is twenty-six years since I left India, and that all my *actual knowledge* of the conduct of natives can only apply to a period when their employment in the Civil Service was very limited; but I entertain a strong opinion of the efficiency and integrity of those whom I then knew to be in the public service.

*Reply from the EARL OF KELLIE, 23rd March.*

I have much pleasure in replying to your letter of the 21st.

Though a military man, I was in civil employ for eighteen years, and the last eight as Commissioner of Saugar and Nerbudda Territories in Central India, and having had many native assistants in that time drawing from Rs. 100 to Rs. 700 a-month, I had fair opportunities of judging of the fitness of educated native gentlemen for civil employment.

Many natives work themselves up to be the head-clerks of offices, and are very painstaking and industrious, often able and willing to assist their official superiors with advice, but who, if left to run alone, would utterly fail.\* These men have all a smattering of education, and are generally very ambitious, and fancy themselves ill-used if not promoted out of the office, and I may say the same of most of this country-born Christians. There are no doubt some exceptions, but in general these men are unfit to become assistants out of their superior's office. On the other hand, where native gentlemen of birth and education were employed by me as assistants to the District officers, and even placed in charge of subdivisions of districts where there were no resident Europeans, I found them to be most excellent, intelligent, painstaking, upright officers, and many were in charge of treasure. It is my belief that a native gentleman who has been well educated in India is fit for a subordinate charge, or to be judge of a court where he will not come in contact with Europeans;

\* Such will be the case with uneducated and lower English servants also.—D. N.

but until a native of India has been in England, and mixed for some years with Europeans of character, and finished his education in England, I would not make him the sole judge of a court in which Europeans might appear as plaintiffs, defendants, or criminals, nor place him in charge of a district where Europeans reside.\*

I think that our administration in India would be greatly improved by the introduction of native gentlemen into our service, and by employing men of intelligence, rank, and family, along with European gentlemen, in our councils and high courts.

The *izzet* of the Indian (representing honour, dignity, and *proper* pride) will generally keep him straight when confidence is reposed in him.

Of course there are exceptions, but so there are amongst Europeans, and my experience tells me that we do not place sufficient confidence in our native officers.

I may be thought prejudiced, but I am convinced our great fault in the government of India is in endeavouring to introduce too much red tape and form, and in fancying what is good for the Englishman is good for the Indian.

We should have well-educated English gentlemen to superintend, and intelligent native subordinates and coadjutors, honesty and simplicity in our courts, and no long codes and complex forms and reports, which at present take up the entire time of the heads of offices and departments.

I had native assistants of both the Mahometan and Hindi religions, and as a rule excellent men and officers they were, even in time of trouble, 1857-58.

A few of both religions were not faithful under heavy trial; but they were *very* few, and the majority were true to their salt. The Hindi I think is, on the whole, more attached to our rule than the Mahometan is, but perhaps the latter is, of the two, generally the better officer, in time of peace at any rate.

Of the Parsees, Sikhs, and other religions in India I cannot speak from my own knowledge, as I had none, but no one will deny the great ability, intelligence, and integrity of the Parsee, nor the bravery of the Sikh.

I write this for your own eye only, and hurriedly, but I do not object to any one hearing my opinion.

*Reply from LORD HARRIS, 24th March, 1868.*

In reply to your inquiry, I have the pleasure to inform you that I had reason to form a high opinion of the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives of India so far as my experience went when resident there.

My position did not afford much opportunity for personal examination; but the testimony of others who possessed better means of judging led me to conclude that the educated natives were well worthy of trust and responsibility in the various departments of the service.

*Reply from Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN, 25th March, 1868.*

I have had the pleasure of receiving your note, asking my opinion as to the fitness of the educated natives of India for offices of trust and responsibility.

I have always advocated the extended public employment of the natives of India, and have thought highly of their qualifications. The time has now, in my opinion, come for a decided step in advance, and for placing the whole subject on a clear and well-understood footing. A great deal would have to be said to do justice to the question. I cannot enter upon it now, but I shall do all that is in my power to forward the object.

*Reply from General JOHN BRIGGS, 25th March, 1868.*

On receipt of yours of the 21st this morning, I re-perused your excellent paper, read before the Ethnological Society on the 27th March, 1866, on "Observation on the paper read by Mr. John Crawford on the 14th February of the same year," and I perfectly coincide with all that you have stated in refutation of that gentleman's statements and opinions.†

I have long since come to the conclusion of the Abbé Raynal in his 'History of

\* Our memorial also prays that the selected candidates be required to visit England for two or more years.—D. N.

† Mr. Crawford asserted that the natives of India had neither intellect nor morals, and I gave in the above paper my reasons for saying that the assertion was quite incorrect, and that the ability and integrity of educated natives was no more a matter of any doubt.—D. N.

India; that "mankind under similar circumstances in all parts of the globe will act alike."

I find among my acquaintances who have long resided in India, that after travelling over Europe they have reason to think more highly of the natives of India every day.

*Reply from Sir W. DENISON, 1st April, 1868.*

I do not see how I can give a satisfactory answer to your very general question. You ask for my opinion as to the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives of India employed in the various departments of the public service. Of course there are differences among them as among others; there are good and bad, efficient and non-efficient; and all are, to a certain extent, as the term is, "educated." I should not call them efficient absolutely, but relatively they do their work fairly. As regards integrity, you must be content with the average integrity of the people. I do not think that education has done much to change the moral character of the natives. Indeed, apart from religion, the inducements to put on the exterior of morality are purely selfish. The educated man may have a more correct appreciation of what decent conduct may effect than the uneducated man, but he has also more ability to throw a veil over his breaches of the moral law, but he is not therefore better than his neighbours.

*Second Letter of Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI to Sir W. DENISON, 2nd April, 1868.*

I thank you for your kind courtesy in replying to my letter, and hope you will kindly excuse me for troubling you again. I am sorry I did not make my inquiry a little more clearly. Kindly say whether your remarks apply to all the natives in the service who are called educated because they know English, or that particular body of natives in the service who have received their education in the English colleges in India, and have been for some time past entrusted with the responsible duties of deputy-collectors, or placed in the charge of subdivisions of districts where there are no resident Europeans, or judges of small cause or high courts, &c. The object of my inquiries is to ascertain whether the latter body of natives, with the ordinary exceptions as among any other people, have or have not in general, as a matter of fact, discharged their duties with integrity and efficiency.

On the more difficult question, whether a body of natives is actuated by a less genuine sense of the moral duty or more selfishness than a similarly circumstanced body of any other people, a difference of opinion may arise; but it is not my object to trouble you with this controversy.

*Sir W. DENISON's Second Reply, 3rd April, 1868.*

I am sorry that you compel me to express an unfavourable opinion as to the effect of education (so called) upon the natives of India. I was in hopes that my last letter would have led you to infer that my opinion was not favourable, and that you would not have pressed for a more definite statement of opinion; as, however, you wish to know whether the natives of India employed as deputy collectors, or placed in charge of subdivisions of districts where there are no resident Europeans, or judge of small cause or high courts, &c., have, with the ordinary exceptions as among any other people, discharged their duties with integrity and efficiency, I must say that, according to my experience, they have not done so; that there are some who have done their work efficiently I am aware, but I am afraid that these are the exceptions to the general rule.

*Reply from Colonel FRENCH, 23d March, 1868.*

In reply to your note of the 21st inst., as to my opinion of the integrity and efficiency of the educated natives employed in the various departments of the Indian service, I can only say, from personal knowledge, that I have been associated with none of your countrymen who are what I presume you mean by the expression "educated natives," and therefore can give no opinion of them in the manner described, from personal knowledge.

But I must add I have always heard them highly spoken of, and at the same time—while reminding you of being always an humble follower of yours in endeavouring to afford to the people of India the best education that could be—I was quite satisfied with the natives as I found them in integrity and efficiency in the various offices I

have held during nearly thirty years' service in India, though they were not what you call educated.

I know not your object in now writing to me, but be it what it may, I only wish I could express myself as I feel regarding very many natives of India I have served Government with, their integrity, zeal, and efficiency. Why, what would we be without them, their experience and knowledge of the languages and habits of the people governed? My own firm belief is that had we had some natives of India in the Executive as well as Legislative Councils, the Mutiny, brought on in the main by the Dalhousie Annexation Policy, might have been averted.

I may say, in conclusion, that the late Mr. Thomason, when governor of the North-West Provinces, gave, on my recommendation, to Lall Khan the position of joint collector and magistrate in Nimar, and surely, if I did not hold him in high estimation, I would not have so recommended him. That fine old Mussulman, Lall Khan, was in Nimar Sheristidar when I joined the agency, so he was there in the then highest position in the agency.

Finally, I may say an educated native of India should be, and I am pretty sure always will be, far more efficient than any European officer can be in almost any sense for the discharge of the duties of a servant of the State.

*Reply from Sir ROBERT WALLACE, 24th March, 1868.*

You ask for my opinion on the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives of India employed in the Indian service in offices of trust and responsibility.

This is a large and important question, to which full justice cannot be done in this letter. I am an advocate for the thoroughly impartial employment of natives of India in all (*the very highest*) offices, according to their individual efficiency and integrity—their title to employment does not, with me, rest on the fact of their being natives, but on the benefit that will accrue to India by putting the best men into their proper places.

As regards their intellectual qualifications, their industry, their *business* faculties, the natives of India are, in my opinion, fully equal to any Europeans. Their acquired qualifications depend on the educational advantages they receive, and in that respect they will gradually be put on an equality with their European competitors. To be quite frank, I am also of opinion that integrity is as yet the weak point of my native fellow-countrymen—they are now, I think, under considerable disadvantage—integrity, to my mind, is a quality apart from intellect; and until the mass of native society has reached a higher position in morals than it has at present, no intellectual culture will place individual natives, as a class, on the same level as Europeans.

You will understand that I am not saying that *no* natives are at present on that level, but that they are not in sufficient numbers to give a character to the *class*. The difference appears to me, from my experience, to be this:—individual Europeans have proved corrupt and individual natives have been proved corrupt, but the reprobation of the latter among their kinsfolk and acquaintances is not by any means equal to the disgrace which falls on the former; and until the moral sentiment of native society becomes as high as it is in English society, we cannot expect, as a general rule, that the individuals of the former will be as trustworthy as the latter.\* For it is a peculiar temptation to the native that the public opinion of his own circle not only does not act on him as a constant check, but that it draws him the other way.

For the interests of India, therefore, it appears to me that the co-operation of European integrity with native intellect and other good qualities is and will long be essential; and while it is for the public advantage that natives should be *impartially* employed in *every* office for which the individual proves himself fit, it is *not* advantageous that they should be so employed merely because they are natives.

I should not have the slightest repugnance to see a native of India Lord High Chancellor of England if he proved himself fitted for that post; and for the sake of India, which I love, and for its people, many of whom I have loved, I hope that there will ever be what our French neighbours call a complete *solidarité* between England and that splendid country.

\* Supposing this assertion to be correct, the free and impartial admission which Sir R. Wallace advocates will be the best means of raising the general tone of native society. Among the educated it is already high.—D. N.



Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S *Second Letter to Sir R. WALLACE, 24th March, 1868.*

My sincere thanks for yours of this morning. Excuse me for troubling you once more. What I desire to know is, whether that particular limited class (and not the whole native or natives generally) who have been educated in the English colleges in India have discharged the duties of trust and responsibility entrusted to them with integrity or not, as a matter of fact, as far as you are aware.

*Second Reply from Sir R. WALLACE, 9th April, 1868.*

I have to apologize for not having replied to a short note which you wrote me, but which did not reach my hand at the time, as I have been absent from home.

I take this opportunity to add in reference to it, that I believe the recently educated native gentlemen who have entered the English service to be generally persons of integrity and trustworthiness as far as my information goes.

*Reply from General LE GRAND JACOB, 23rd March, 1868.*

I am sorry to tell you my brother-in-law General Jacob is so ill with a severe cold as to be quite unable to answer your letter, but he hopes to reply to it as he rallies.

Meanwhile he would refer you to a speech of his in the last number of the 'E.I. Association Journal,' in which you will see his opinion of educated Indian gentlemen.

*Extract from General JACOB'S Speech.\**

"There are nearly 200 millions of human beings in India: of course the great mass have no idea beyond filling their bellies, as they say; but there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of deep-thinking, far-sighted men, in addition to whom there is all the rising generation, many of them quite equal in intellectual ability and moral worth to any English gentleman. I have the pleasure of calling several such men my personal friends, with whom I correspond, and I have very few English friends superior to them in attainments or character. This class is rapidly rising all over India in thousands,—men who have reflected and reasoned, and have every year more and more influence over their countrymen."

*Second Letter to General LE GRAND JACOB from Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, 24th March, 1868.*

I am very sorry to hear you are unwell. I would not have troubled you, but I am in need of something more specific than what you have said at our meeting. What I want to know is not only the intellectual ability and moral worth of many of the educated natives of the rising generation, but especially of that class of them who are employed in the public service in offices of trust and responsibility.

*Second Reply of General LE GRAND JACOB, 10th April, 1868.*

The note written for me in reply to your first of the 21st ult. will, I trust, have explained the delay in reply to your second note.

I have been very ill and unable to attend to anything, and the brief moments that I might have replied to you I had no one at hand to select your notes from a mass of unanswered letters lying on my table, and to read them to me, for I am now blind.

You say, "What I want to know is not only the intellectual ability and moral worth of many of the educated natives of the rising generation, but especially of that class of them who are employed in the public service in offices of trust and responsibility."

I do not see that there is any room for doubt when a class of men can be described as possessing intellectual ability and moral worth, as to the fitness of portions of that class for public employ; but, as you want the result of my experience regarding the last, I am happy to say that it is entirely in favour of the extensive use of their services.

During the last thirty years that I have been at the head of a province or provinces, or a political officer at a foreign court, I have made it a rule to select men for employ under me from the different colleges and schools of the Presidency, from Abindabad in the north to Rutnagiri and Sawnutwaree in the south, both Mahometan and Hindû, and there are numbers who have been so selected who are now filling high and respon-

\* 'Journal of the East India Association,' No. 2, p. 137.

sible appointments in the different parts of Western India. The accounts that have reached me of them since my return to England bear testimony of their usefulness and trustworthiness. In all my selections (which, however, were made with care) only one may be said to have failed, and he more from the caprice and faults of others than from his own. I certainly should not have expected so large a proportion of good men and true even from the educated classes of my own country.

*Reply from General W. LANG, 28th March, 1868.*

In acknowledging the receipt of your note of the 25th instant, which only reached me this morning, I beg to inform you that I did not meet many of the well-educated natives before I left India, but I am very happy to be able to tell you that the few I did know in the Government service were most efficient and trustworthy, and two of them are now employed in offices of trust and responsibility, and give, I believe, the greatest satisfaction.

*Educational Dispatch of the Court of Directors of 19th July, 1854, No. 49, to the Governor-General.*

"3. We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a high degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust\* in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the State."

Next the Court express their satisfaction of the attainments of the natives as follows:—

"10. We have also received most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science, which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India."

"29. Some years ago we declined to accede to a proposal made by the Council of Education, and transmitted to us with the recommendation of your Government, for the institution of an University in Calcutta. The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by native candidates for Government scholarships and by native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of Universities in India," &c., &c.

Next the Court bear testimony to the ability and integrity of the native officials as follows:—

"77. We are sanguine enough to believe that some effect has already been produced by the improved education of the public service of India. The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen, is, in our opinion, much to be attributed to the progress of education among these officers, and to their adoption along with it of that high moral tone which pervades the general literature of Europe. Nor is it among the higher officers alone that we have direct evidence of the advantage which the public derives from the employment of educated men. We quote from the last report of Dacca College with particular satisfaction, as we are aware that much of the happiness of the people of India depends upon the honesty of the officers of police:†—"The best possible evidence has been furnished," says the local committee, "that some of the ex-students of the College of Dacca have completely succeeded in the arduous office of darogha. Krishna Chunder Dutt, employed as a darogha under the magistrate of Howra, in particular, is recommended for promotion, as having gained the respect and applause of all classes, who, though they may not practise, yet know how to admire, real honesty and integrity of purpose."

\* Public letter to Bengal, 5th September, 1827.

† Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1851-2, p. 27.

Sir BARTLE FRERE's *Speech at the Convocation of the University of Bombay*,  
11th April, 1864.

"When a mighty emperor, who a few short years ago was reckoned one of the ablest as well as one of the most powerful potentates of modern Europe, desired to describe his wish to discuss matters with perfect frankness and confidence, he said he wished to discuss them "as a gentleman," and he used an English word to express a character not peculiar to any country or race, but which his sagacious observation had shown him plays in England a more important part than in any other country of the world.

"I cannot give you a better proof of the high estimation I have ever had of the capabilities of those natives of India who are trained at this university than by speaking to you as capable of bearing the stamp of 'gentleman and scholar,' and I earnestly and confidently hope that, as a rule, it will be borne and deserved by all who claim degrees from the University of Bombay."

*Extract of a Letter from the Bombay Government to the Revenue Commissioners,*  
dated 31st October, 1865.

"His Excellency the Governor in Council (Sir Bartle Frere) is most anxious that sufficient inducement should be offered to natives who have received a liberal education to enter the public service. Any general and lasting improvement in the administration of the country must, in a great measure, depend upon our securing the co-operation of this class of men, who are rapidly increasing in number and importance."

*Evidence of Sir G. B. CLERK, Select Committee of House of Commons, 1853 (224 I.).*

"2278. Looking at the long experience you have had of natives, what is your opinion of the standard of morality among the best of the native population, those with whom you have come in contact, and in whom you have placed confidence among the higher classes?—I should say that the morality among the higher classes of the Hindus was of a high standard, and among the middling and lower classes remarkably so; there is less of immorality and less of extreme poverty than you would see in many countries in Europe. In all their domestic relations, and their charity to their neighbours, they are superior to what you will find in many countries; it is not so much so perhaps with the Mahometans, but still I should say that there is no striking degree of immorality among them.

"2279. Is it your opinion that confidence might be placed in the natives for the performance of the duties of many higher offices than they are now employed in in those districts?—Certainly, if allowed salaries sufficient to place them on a respectable footing.

"2280. You mean that if their allowances were such as to maintain them in the relative station in which they ought to be, as compared with Europeans, confidence might be placed in their honest and straightforward conduct?—Certainly, for official business of most kinds."

*Evidence of Sir G. B. CLERK, First Report, Select Committee, 1853 (224 I.), Commons.*  
*Native Judges—their Efficiency and Integrity.*

"2348. Mr. Fitzgerald. Are the decisions of the judges between the lowest class and the Zillah judge looked on as equal to the decisions of the Zillah judge?—I have had but little opportunity of comparing them, but I should say that they are. The decisions of all the native judges are considered, I believe, to have fully answered the expectations formed of their capacities for administering justice.

"2349. Have you ever taken pains to inquire into the questions which have been raised upon appeal from the decisions of the native judges, and the result of those appeals?—I have read their decisions.

"2350. Have you formed a judgment upon the subject yourself, as to whether the decisions of the Zillah judges are superior to those of the native judges?—I should not say that they are superior. The decision of the native judge is as good as that of the European judge."

*Report of the Board of Education of Bombay, 1851-52, p. 13 (Sir E. PERRY, President of the Board).*

"But the unexpected stimulus afforded by Government at a later period of the year, when out of eight new appointments to be conferred on natives in the revenue department half of the whole number was reserved for educated young men of distinction, although without departmental knowledge, appears to us to be the most beneficial step ever taken in this Presidency for the encouragement of superior education.

"We trust sincerely and are very sanguine that the deputy-collectors thus appointed, Messrs. Dadoba Pandurang, Naoroji Beiramjee, Venaik Wasudew, and Nanabhai Moroji, will not only exhibit sufficient official aptitude in their new careers, but also such an amount of rectitude and trustworthiness as to do credit to the Government institutions in which they have been trained."\*

*Report of the Board of Education of Bombay, 1850-61, p. 25 (Sir E. PERRY, President).*

"In the island of Bombay, however, where superior education has been much more widely extended, the fruits of it are displaying themselves at an earlier period and in a more pleasing form than possibly the most sanguine educationist could have anticipated. It does not, perhaps, lie within the province of the Board to record the spontaneous efforts which are being made by the educated youths of Bombay for the diffusion of knowledge amongst others less fortunately circumstanced than themselves. But it is impossible for the Board to ignore the great facts occurring within their ken—the female schools, publications for diffusing useful information, and vernacular lectures on science, all conducted by young men educated in the Elphinstone Institution, all denoting both the soundness of the system that had been adopted within those walls, and the true means of diffusing popular instruction on a large scale in India. Advantage was accordingly taken by the Board of this excellent spirit," &c., &c.

Sir ERSKINE PERRY'S *Speech at the Annual Meeting for the Distribution of Prizes* (see *Report of the Board of Education of Bombay, 1851-52*).

Page 99. "But so much I take upon myself to say, that whether in respect of numbers attaining academical education, or of scholastic attainment either in science or literature, I perceive no inferiority whatever on the part of the youth of Bombay, and in one important particular I place them above those of all India, namely, in the exhibition of some of the best qualities of citizenship—good sense, good conduct, and, above all, philanthropic and public spirit, that leads them to promote the interest of others as well as their own.

"In the Bombay Board's Report for 1844, it is stated (*page 105*):—'On the other hand, with those who boldly contend that the sound practical information which the Government seek to convey to their schools has no moralizing influence on the native character, we find it impossible to agree. Ignorance in all ages has been the fruitful mother of vice in a great degree by the undue development given to the passions in minds where intellectual enjoyment can find no entry, but mainly by the temptation and facility which it affords to the crafty and designing of preying upon the ignorant masses. . . . Wherever we find gross intellectual darkness, we are sure to meet with grovelling superstition and the worst forms of priestcraft; a lax morality is the inevitable forerunner of such unholy union, and it is only by the introduction of light as a sort of moral police that any effectual warfare can be expected to be waged against these enemies of the human race:

"For truth has such a look and such a mien  
As to be loved needs only to be seen."

Page 106. "The next point on which the French historian needs information is as to the results of an English education, and as to the kind of men we produce by our European mode of training. Here I am in a position to offer testimony of a positive and very satisfactory character. With respect to native Professors, it was a matter of deep satisfaction to Mr. Lumsden and myself, on a recent visit to the New Poona College, to listen to Keru Luxemon (pupil of Professor Orlebar) and Mahadew

\* These expectations have been, as far as I know, fully realized.—D. N.

Shastri, well known in the Elphinstone Institution, lecturing on astronomy and the positive sciences of Europe to their brother Brahmins of the Deccan. With regard to medical science, the important testimony of the head of the Medical Board, my respected colleague, Dr. McLennan, to the attainments of the native students when they obtained their diplomas at the Grant College in the last year, will not speedily be forgotten. These attainments were pronounced equal to any exhibited by students trained in the best medical schools of Europe, and the testimony is all the more valuable because Dr. McLennan had not been disposed, as he informed us, to anticipate the high capacity for digesting and applying acquired knowledge which the severe examination these students passed exhibited. But the writer asks also as to performances on the judgment seat. Here also most important testimony during the past year has been elicited. All the civil business in the Company's courts is conducted, speaking generally, by native judges; they are what the French would call 'judges of first instance,' and from their decisions appeals lie to European judges, from whose judgments again an appeal lies to the Sudder Adawlut. It naturally follows, that on these latter appeals a close comparison is made between the decisions of the native and the European functionary. Now I learn from the judges of the Sudder Adawlut that it was publicly stated in open court, by the two leading members of the Bombay bar that with a few distinguished exceptions the decisions of the native judges were, in many respects, superior to those of the Europeans. I could multiply examples of this kind, but I will content myself with one more short citation, which, coming as it does from the highest authority in the Government of India, renders any more evidence as to the effects of English education and capacity of the native mind superfluous. In a speech replete with good feeling and wisdom, delivered by the Chairman of the Court of Directors to the students at Haileybury, on the 15th of December last, I find the following arguments used by him in order to stimulate the young English collegians to additional exertions:—

"And on this point let me call your attention to the exertions making by the natives of India in the present day: European science and European literature are now studied in India not only with diligence but with success. The examinations on those subjects passed by native students show little, if any, inferiority in comparison with Europeans. They have become competitors on our own field of action, and on ground hitherto untrodden by them, and, unless you sustain the race with additional zeal and energy, they may pass you. Should this occur, should the natives of India surpass us in intellectual vigour and qualifications, can we hope to remain long in the possession of the powers and privileges we now enjoy? Certainly not."

"If I might be allowed to add one additional comment to the conclusion drawn by the honourable chairman, I would say,—and it is the deep expression of the most solemn conviction I have formed in India, the one piece of evidence I feel competent and bound to give—that the true way to preserve British power and privileges in the East, to make them conducive to the happiness of India and to the honour of England, is to share this power and these privileges largely with all such distinguished natives of merit and acquirements as the honourable chairman places in competition with their youthful fellow-subjects at Haileybury."

*Evidence of SIR FREDERICK HALLIDAY, Parliamentary Papers, 1853 (224, VI. p. 63).*

"8620. You stated in answer to a previous question that sufficient encouragement has not been given to the admission of natives into the service of the Government: in what respect has that been shown?—I am not perfectly distinct in what I should wish to see done, but I feel that something is wanting to connect more naturally and certainly than at present, distinctions in the Government schools and colleges with honourable and liberal employment in the public service. At present a young man must trust very much to interest and to the chance of obtaining the favour of persons who know very little and who care very little about his academic career."

*Parliamentary Papers, 1867, No. 88.—Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India for 1865–66.*

Page 22. "A careful inquiry has been instituted by the Sudder Court of the North-Western Provinces into the character for integrity of the subordinate judicial agency, and the result has been generally favourable."

"It is gratifying to find that a generally favourable opinion in regard to the growing

efficiency of these unpaid officers (honorary magistrates) is entertained by the magistrates, and that their courts appear to possess the confidence of the people."

Page 24. "There are sixty honorary magistrates in the Central Provinces, who disposed of more than one-fifth of the criminal trials during the year. Their work, as a general rule, is done extremely well."

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION,  
ROOMS, NO. 1, LARKIN'S LANE,  
CALCUTTA, March 16th, 1868.

To CAPTAIN BARBER,  
*Secretary to the East India Association, London, &c., &c.*

SIR,—In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association, I have the honour to convey to you the best thanks of the Association for your exertions for the removal of the present obstacles to the admission of the natives of India to the civil service. For the last fifteen years this question has engaged the attention of the British Indian Association; they petitioned the Imperial Parliament on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter of the late East India Company in 1853, praying for the abolition of the patronage system, and since then they had the satisfaction of witnessing the introduction of the competitive principle; they had more than once petitioned Parliament and her Majesty's Government, praying that the examination for Indian candidates be held in India, but, they are sorry to state, hitherto without success. They are, however, glad to see the question revised under the auspices of your Association, and they need hardly add that they have availed themselves of this opportunity of again submitting their prayer to her Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
JOTUNDRU MOHUN TAGORE,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

*Reply from Sir BARTLE FREER, 16th April, 1868.*

The question you have asked me is so general it would need many volumes to answer it completely; and, without a knowledge of the particular object for which you ask my opinion, it is very difficult to select those portions of a full answer which may best meet your question; I must therefore necessarily confine myself to very vague generalities. And in the first place I would observe that, as regards natural capacity to receive and benefit by a good intellectual and moral education, I have never been able to discern any difference between the general capacity of the people of India and the general capacity of the people of Europe.

In India, as in Europe, we find a great difference in capacity between different races; between different classes in the same race; between the same race in different stages of civilization; between the children of an intellectual and a non-intellectual family; between the rich and the poor; between members of different religious schools: and, in fact, we find that every variety of circumstance in the origin and training of a man makes some difference in what I may call his original intellectual capacity. And after making allowance for this difficulty in instituting any comparison between the two groups of nations, I should say that there was no perceptible difference between the children of the two groups, save that the children of the warmer climate were more precocious in the early development of their intellects, and paid for their advantage in lacking somewhat of the stamina and strength of the more slowly-ripening children of the colder climate.

Of this I feel pretty confident, that, if a million children could be taken at random, so as to represent every variety of nation, rank, and religion in Europe, and another million taken in like manner in India, there would certainly be no inferiority observable in the intellectual capacity of the Indian million.

If I am right in this estimate of the original capacity of the two groups of nations, the results of applying any given system of education to the children of either group seem to me to be simply a question of arithmetic; and I believe that many of the prevalent differences of opinion as to the actual result, as shown by experience, arise from our forgetting, in almost every comparison we make, many of the main elements which ought to enter into our calculation and comparison.

For instance: We give to a Hindú boy in India, and to a Scotch boy in Scotland, the same course of book-learning, and when we find that the results are not absolutely identical we say, "There must be some difference in natural capacity, otherwise the results would be identical, because the education has been alike in both cases." But we forget that the education is not really alike, and that we are talking and thinking of a comparatively small part of the education; and that in fact there are so many other parts to be considered that an accurate comparison is next to impossible.

As regards my own observation of the effects of such education as is now given in Western India in fitting Indian youth for all the practical business of life, I should say that there is no sphere of labour, public or private, in India, for which fit labourers may not be thus prepared. The people are counted by millions, and we are not yet in the third generation of men educated according to our European notions. But I know no post of public or private trust for which a competently educated native candidate might not be selected from among our Indian youth. I speak simply of intellectual and moral qualifications, and I need not remind you, that in no country will these alone, in any great number of cases, always command success or constitute fitness.\* My own knowledge is, of course, principally confined to the public service. Of that I can speak confidently, that while there is still ample room for improvement for ages to come, we have at this moment, in the educated youth of Western India, as far as intellectual and moral training can secure it, an excellent raw material for manning every branch of the public service.†

I must apologize for being compelled to avail myself of the services of an amanuensis.

*Reply from Mr. EDWARD MALTEY (Madras), 14th April, 1868.*

In consequence of absence from London, your letter directed to the club has only lately reached me.

You ask my opinion regarding the efficiency and integrity of the educated natives of India who are employed in public offices of trust and responsibility. It would be easier to converse with you, should an opportunity occur, on so wide a subject than to attempt to discuss it in a letter, but I will endeavour briefly to answer your question.

My official employment in India was limited to the southern Presidency, where the native public service consists of Mahometans and Hindús. A few Parsee gentlemen are found there engaged in business, but I hardly recollect any who sought Government employ. The Mahometans chiefly filled the higher judicial offices, while the Hindús assisted in revenue affairs and the general administration. Of the ability of both there is no question, and I have always felt greatly indebted to their valuable aid for such success as attended me in the management of large provinces. As a

\* The following few remarks are not against, but suggested by Sir B. Frere's words:—Whatever else may be necessary may be put down among the qualifications required. Then it will remain with the natives to show that they have it. If these extra qualifications cannot be first tested, and can be only discovered in actual service, then the future progress of the native will be, like that of the European servant, dependent upon that display of merit which can "command success or constitute fitness." Every European servant has not turned out a Lawrence, a Frere, a Munro, or an Elphinstone. Every member of Parliament is not a Gladstone or a Disraeli. The ultimate success or distinction of the native will, like that of the European, depend upon certain transcendental qualities which few only possess in any country, but which can never be displayed unless full scope is given to all. If a parliament or public service were not to be formed till every member first proved himself a Gladstone or a Disraeli, or if a staff of officers were not to be formed till every cadet proves before admission that he was an embryo Wellington, such institutions would, I am afraid, never come into existence. And this is what is very nearly asked from us by some. What can be expected for an admission to the civil service, is just what Sir B. Frere says farther on, "an excellent raw material for manning every branch of the public service as far as intellectual and moral training can secure it."—See also Note 2.

† We don't say we are any more, and the English candidates are just the same. Let us be allowed, with credentials equal in every respect—intellectual, moral, or physical—to those of the European candidates, to man the service; and our future will, as a matter of course, like that of the European, depend upon proving our qualifications to "command success or constitute fitness." If any native does not show the necessary merit, he will progress no farther, and his European betters will pass him without giving rise to any cause to complain. Our prayer is only this: for admission ask from us no more than from other British subjects. It is unreasonable to ask any to be first-rate riders, swimmers, or shooters, before they are allowed to touch horse, water, or rifle; give us a fair trial, and then it can be seen whether we fail or succeed. The objections now urged in preventing a fair admission of the natives may be continued to be urged to the end of time. In what way can the natives ever disprove them unless you give them an opportunity? So far as an opportunity has been given them, they have realized the expectations to the extent which can be reasonably demanded from any other people. We may fairly expect many a Shambhoonath, Salat Jung, or Dinkarrao, or Madavrao.



well-wisher of the native service, the improvement, both in its moral tone and education, which has gone on during late years has much gratified me, and I rejoice to see it showing qualifications for taking a wide important co-operative part in the administration of the country.

*Reply from Sir FREDERICK HALLIDAY, 16th April, 1868.*

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th April, in reply to mine of the 3rd idem.

Your present question appears to be substantially the same as that you before put to me, and which, as I told you, I hesitated to answer. You now ask "whether, as far as I am aware, the natives educated in the English colleges in India, and who have been employed in offices of trust and responsibility, have or have not, as a matter of fact, discharged their duties with efficiency and integrity, allowing for ordinary exceptions as among other people?" One of my objections to answering this question lies in the words I have italicized, which may seem to contain the semblance of a doubt whether those not educated in English colleges have done their duty. If you omit those words, I might not, under your present explanation, object to answer the question, and I should answer it affirmatively.

I look back with great respect to the efficiency and integrity of the natives whom I have seen employed in offices of trust and responsibility, subject to such ordinary exceptions as you indicate, and subject also to some great disadvantages of pay and position under which I have known them to labour.

But I object to draw a special and, as it would appear, unfavourable distinction in these respects between the great majority of native public servants and the comparatively few who have been educated in English colleges.

*The Company and the Crown, by T. J. HOVELL THURLOW (page 291).*

The foregoing expressions were penned by one whose character for extreme loyalty towards the English crown ranks second to none in India.

We venture to transcribe the following, from the pen of Major Meade, agent to the Governor-General for Central India, dated Indore Residency, April, 1865:—

"I can have no hesitation in stating that I fully concur in and can endorse every word of the late Sir Richmond Shakespeare's memorandum, and that it is simply impossible, in my opinion, to do adequate justice to Raja Dinkur Rao's services and admirable character in such documents.

"His administrative ability and thorough knowledge of the people generally of the Gwalior State (including his own class, which filled most of the offices of the Government, and the various tribes and clans making up the two millions odd subject to the rule of Maharaja Scindia), and of the measures and policy which were best suited to their requirements, and the real interests of the State and his chief, aided by his singular acquaintance with, and appreciation of, the merits and defects of the system of British administration, enabled him from the date of his assumption of the Dewanship to introduce improvements, order, and organization in every branch and department of the State, and in a wonderfully brief time, under the circumstances, to establish a Government, such as had never before existed in the territories of his master, and which now promise, if maintained in the spirit and on the principles on which it was conceived, to make Gwalior the first of native kingdoms.

"In all this the Honourable Raja had much to contend with; for his measures were necessarily opposed to the traditional policy of the governing classes of the country, and to the interests of the many influential persons who had fattened on the abuses they were specially intended to abolish; but his tact, calm temper, and good judgment, aided by the example of unimpeachable integrity he set to all around him, enabled him to effect what to those acquainted with the circumstances of the State might well have appeared hopeless. . . .

"And a general feeling of contentment and satisfaction, and of love and respect for the Minister who had so changed their condition, prevailed among all classes. . . .

"He was not, however, suffered to remain unnoticed; for on the establishment of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1861 he was among the first members selected to sit therein as representatives of the native community of the Empire. . . .

"Whatever the future may have in this respect in store for the Honourable Raja Dinkur Rao—and that the time will sooner or later come when, if spared, he will

re-occupy a public post suited to his great talents and high character, I have the fullest confidence—he must for the present console himself with the proud and gratifying conviction that, as remarked by Sir Richmond Shakespeare, he is respected and beloved by the rich and poor of his own country, in which his name will long be known as *par excellence* the Dewan, and that he enjoys the high consideration of the British Government and the esteem and regard of such of its officers as have had the pleasure of knowing him either privately or officially.”\*

In reference to the circumstance that a Hindú visiting foreign countries for State purposes does not loose caste, I have been reminded that the Thakore of Limra, a high-caste Rajpoot Raja, with a few other Rajpoots, visited this country three years ago on State purposes, and no objection was taken by their caste-fellows.—D. N.

## APPENDIX B.

### DEPUTATION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

A Deputation from the East India Association, consisting of Colonel Sykes, M.P., Mr. R. N. Fowler, Captain Powlett, Captain Harby Barber, Mr. S. P. Low, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, &c., waited on Sir Stafford Northcote on Wednesday, August 21, for the purpose of presenting a petition. Colonel Sykes explained the objects of the memorial, and dwelt upon the absolute necessity of the successful native candidates for civil appointments visiting England. He enlarged on the change which contact with English society, English industry, English influence, produced on the views of a native. He told how, when in Durbar, all the Nepal chiefs clamoured to be led against the English during the mutinies, Jung Bahadur alone declared such a course to be a fatal one, because from what he had seen in England, and from his personal intercourse with Englishmen, he was certain that, however successful an attack might be for a time, the English in the end would prevail. Colonel Sykes went on to speak of the ability of the natives to pass high examinations, as the examinations in the Indian universities proved. He pointed out that the proposal to award scholarships for competition in India, to enable natives to come to England to complete their education, emanated from Sir Herbert Edwardes, who, from his experience and ability, must carry weight in such a matter.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said he had the question under consideration, and had conversed with Sir Herbert Edwardes and others on it, and Sir Herbert had furnished him with a paper on it. Two plans were suggested—the one proposed that appointments should be assigned for competition in India, the other that scholarships should be given to enable natives to come to finish their education in England. The first would manifestly be the most convenient for the natives themselves; but it was urged in favour of the second, that it would secure a more enterprising class than the first—men with more back-bone—and he admitted the force of that. Moreover, he quite saw the advantage to India of a more efficient class which had had an English training. He took a very great interest in the matter, and was inclined to approve both proposals. He was corresponding with Sir J. Lawrence and the Indian Government on the subject.

Sir Stafford Northcote then conversed with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other members of the Association on the Gilchrist Scholarships, which are worth 100*l.* annually, and are tenable by the natives of India for five years. He thought it would be feasible to give the scholars a free passage in the Government transit ships. He further questioned Mr. Dadabhai about the expenses of the Indian students under his care.

\* ‘Times’ of 25th May, 1857.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT thought it was very important that natives should be brought to this country when young, before their habits and prejudices were confirmed; he hoped that both proposals would be approved. He dreaded the disposition to look upon Government office as the one thing needful, and he hoped that steps would be taken to encourage the growth of an English-trained independent class. He was of opinion that experience has shown that something more than mere scholastic education is needful by the natives of India; they had shown great receptive power, but they had not shown the love of learning and independence of thought that it was expected the universities would develop, but he believed that early training in England would do much to arouse them.

#### MEMORIAL.

"We, the members of the East India Association, beg respectfully to submit that the time has come when it is desirable to admit the natives of India to a larger share in the administration of India than hitherto.

"To you, Sir, it is quite unnecessary to point out the justice, necessity, and importance of this step, as in the debate in Parliament, on May 24th last, you have pointed out this so emphatically and clearly, that it is enough for us to quote your own noble and statesmanlike sentiments. You said—'Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India; but we ought to consider on what conditions we hold it, and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul empire depended upon the liberal policy that was pursued by men like Akbar, availing themselves of Hindû talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character.' With these friendly and just sentiments towards the people of India we fully concur, and therefore, instead of trespassing any more upon your time, we beg to lay before you our views as to the best mode of accomplishing the object.

"We think that the competitive examinations for a portion of the appointments to the Indian civil service should be held in India, under such rules and arrangements as you may think proper. What portion of the appointments should be thus competed for in India we cannot do better than leave to your own judgment. After the selection is made in India, by the first examination, we think it essential that the selected candidates be required to come to England, to pass their further examinations with the selected candidates of this country.

"In the same spirit, and with kindred objects in view for the general good of India, we would ask you to extend your kind encouragement to native youths of promise and ability to come to England for the completion of their education. We believe that if scholarships, tenable for five years in this country, were to be annually awarded by competitive examination in India to native candidates between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, some would compete successfully in England for the Indian civil service, while others would return in various professions to India, where, by degrees, they would form an enlightened and unprejudiced class, exercising a great and beneficial influence on native society, and constituting a link between the masses of the people and their English rulers.

"In laying before you this Memorial, we feel assured, and we trust that you will also agree with us, that this measure, which has now become necessary by the advancement of education in India, will promote and strengthen the loyalty of the natives of India to the British rule, while it will also be a satisfaction to the British people to have thus by one more instance practically proved its desire to advance the condition of their Indian fellow-subjects, and to act justly by them.

"We need not point out to you, Sir, how great an encouragement these examinations in India will be to education. The great prizes of the appointments will naturally increase vastly the desire for education among the people."

**THE EARL OF KELLIE.**—Gentlemen, I wish to make a very few remarks on the very excellent paper which has just been read to us by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and particularly with reference to my letter to him. In one paragraph I stated that I thought it was necessary that natives before being placed in charge of districts in which there were Europeans, should come to England, and I think that has not been thoroughly understood. What I meant was, that the covenanted service should at once be opened to those now serving in the uncovenanted branch; and I may say that many natives officers in the uncovenanted service who were serving under me, performed their duty as well as it could possibly have been performed, some of them being in charge of small portions of districts, which would be called counties in England; but I did not think it would be a good plan that those who had not been in the habit of mixing and conversing with Europeans should be put in charge of districts where there were any Europeans. Now, no doubt there are a great many Europeans now in India, and the number is increasing every day, and it would be very difficult for a native who had not mixed with Europeans in general, not merely Englishmen, to conduct matters to the satisfaction of his superiors, and of those with whom he would come in contact. My wish is that selections should be made for the covenanted service from among the native gentlemen now in the uncovenanted service. But in a letter which I wrote to the Chief Secretary of State, I gave it as my opinion, and he agreed with me, that it would be improper and unwise to put native gentlemen in charge of districts where there were Europeans. At the same time I do not think that should be a bar to their being appointed to the service. There are many who are not too old to come to England, and who have in a measure shaken off caste, and who would, I think, come to England with a view of improving themselves in every way, and of rising to higher grades. It should be left optional with them to come to England or not, but it should be made compulsory upon them to come to England if they wished to rise to the higher grades, because we all know that associating with Europeans will greatly improve them and fit them for dealing with Europeans, and particularly uneducated Europeans. I do not know whether that is how I expressed myself in my letter, but that was my meaning. I beg leave to second the Resolution proposed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Mr. DUTT proceeded to propose an amendment to the Resolution by adding the following words, "and further to agree to the motion standing in the name of Mr. Trevelyan" (to the effect that a certain number of appointments should be given without competition to natives in the uncovenanted service, who have shown capacity and integrity); but at the suggestion of the Chairman—who pointed out that the proposition embraced in Mr. Trevelyan's motion was a perfectly distinct one from that embodied in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's motion, and that it would be better not to mix the two questions together—Mr. Dutt withdrew his amendment.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTREY.—Gentlemen, I have a very few words to say, and they are words of doubt and wonder. I have listened, as well as the state of the room and its atmosphere would permit (for I was obliged to go outside to seek immediate relief from the state of the atmosphere), to the very long and very able paper of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, but I have failed to discover any reason why I should vote for taking the unprecedented course of directing the secretary to write a letter to the Secretary of State, requesting him—and nothing can be more imperative than that language—requesting him, whatever the decision of the Cabinet of which he is a member, to withhold all opposition to a motion, the terms of which I, for one, am not aware of, to be made by Mr. Fawcett, a friend of my own, but a member of the Opposition in the House of Commons. I am afraid, if such a letter were written, it would not receive the same attention which a respectful memorial to the Minister or a petition to the House of Commons from this Association might possibly be met with. That is my objection in point of form. I think, as we are an infant society, it behoves us to take good heed to our steps, and to take care that we are not presumptuous. I shall vote against the motion, if only on that matter of form. But suppose it is recast into language more consistent with our true position, what then? I am met here with the same difficulty which beset me the last time I appeared in this place. I need not further allude to some very unpleasant circumstances which occurred when I last appeared here, and I am happy to find the way in which the name of Sir Bartle Frere has been received to-night, and that he is recognized as the friend of Her Majesty's subjects in India of whatever creed, of whatever colour, of whatever race. But on that occasion I was met with this difficulty, which meets me

again to-night. *Quid faciendum?* Is what you want to do to thrust upon Sir Stafford Northcote—to thrust upon Sir John Lawrence—to thrust upon Lord Napier—to thrust upon Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, a certain proportion of natives every year (and I will come to that term “natives” immediately) as eligible for high office, whether they be qualified for office or no, because if you do not, then your Resolution means nothing but what the law means already. The law at this moment throws open to all persons, of whatever race, of whatever religion, of whatever colour, whatever their antecedents may have been, the highest offices in India which are in the gift of the Queen, or in the gift of her representatives. And when I hear to-night, not from the mouth of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, but from a noble Lord, that there is such a thing as a covenanted service in India, I am amazed. I deny the position. I say the distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted service was swept away when, happily for the country, the East India Company, to whom alone that covenant was plighted, ceased to exist. I say there is no such thing as the covenanted service. Notwithstanding the happy abolition of the East India Company's government and the substitution of the direct government of the Queen, the different persons who represent Her Majesty in India continue, in filling up offices, to proceed too much upon the assumption, for it is no more, that the covenant continues to exist. There is not a post for instance, in India, except military and naval posts (which are not Indian posts at all, but which belong to the army and navy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), to which I at this moment, who have never taken any covenant, and never will, am not eligible; and there is no native who is not in the same position as myself. But am I therefore to contend that because I am eligible, if fit, I ought to be appointed merely because I am eligible, and whether I am fit or no? You must leave this to the discretion of the Governors, and you must leave that discretion to be controlled by the Secretary of State. And remember that those persons who are the most likely to judge censoriously of the motives which necessitate the superior power to refuse the candidate the admission he seeks, are precisely, because of their fellow-interest with him, those who are most likely to judge amiss. If I am rejected, my friends think it is a hard case. I conjure the gentlemen who represent the nations of India—I will not use the term natives, but the nations of India—to look elsewhere than to place for an honourable career and the means of making a fortune. The number of places is really very small, and they are places, I will not say not worth the having, but not worth contending for, if the contention is to be made the subject of such an agitation as this which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji proposes. Another remark which I wish to make is this: Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji speaks of the natives of India as ranged on one side and my countrymen on the other. It is not so. There is no such community as that of the natives of India; I say that the natives of India form no community at all; there is no such body politic. There are a number of separate races in India, each of whom is as hostile to the other as the most hostile among them is to their conquerors. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji knows that perfectly well; and also when he asks us if we are not fit to govern India why do we not leave India, he knows that that is precisely what the English from the time when they first undertook the administration of India proposed to do. And let him take these words of warning from me. It may not be many generations, it may not be three generations, it may not be two, it may not be one, when the people of England, having satisfied themselves that they have laid the ground for the self-government of India by Indian races, will quit India and leave the dominant races of the different Indian nationalities to establish a supremacy each upon its own soil for itself. Whether all my friends will be satisfied with that; whether the domination of the martial Mussulmans, the less martial Rajpoots, the not less martial Mahrattas, and the not less martial Sikhs, will be agreeable to all the native races of India, the gentlemen who are present, and who have lived in both hemispheres, are quite as capable of forming an opinion and declaring it as I myself am. I say we have no interest in misgoverning British India. We have no will to misgovern British India; and the real difficulty which stands in the way of the adoption of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's proposal, when it has been reduced into proper form and language, has been kept out of sight; and I will tell you what it is. Nobody supposes that the natives of India are deficient in ability. I have always borne testimony to the superiority of the ability of the Oriental over the Occidental races of mankind, as far as my own observation has gone. Nobody doubts their integrity. I have trusted my life and my honour, and I need not say, therefore, my property, to native servants, and I have found in them qualities of trustworthiness

which I have failed to find at home. I believe in their integrity; I believe in their capacity; I believe in their fitness for government; but though you may call India a dominion if you please, it is only a colony; and, as in the case of all the colonies of this country, those who govern from the metropolis are bound to see that it is governed impartially and with a due regard to the interests of all. I ask any one who has sat in Parliament—I ask any one connected with the administration of the great offices of state—whether, in the selection of those who are to fill high offices in particular colonies or particular dominions of the British Crown, he will in all cases select, in preference to strangers, those who have been born and bred in the particular locality? I say he will not. I say it behoves him to see that he does not appoint to offices connected with the administration of justice, for example, those who have been too much, or at all, mixed up with the affairs of the district, of the village, of the province. He must look abroad—and this is without any regard to the question of race. A friend of mine, a member of the Council of Calcutta, told me that he found in Asia especially a too great tendency to become local, and that he himself left Calcutta every three years to come to England for the mere purpose of unlocalizing himself; for he felt local sympathies too heavy upon him, and that they unfitted him for his work. How much more true is that of the natives of the soil. This is the difficulty—I do not say what the value of it is—that presses upon the Secretary of State for India. The same difficulty presses upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and upon every person who has to do from the metropolis with the administration of the affairs of foreign realms. You must select those who have the confidence of the people, but you must also select those who have the confidence of the Sovereign; and you must take care that in endeavouring to secure the confidence of those whom you govern, you are not in fact securing only the confidence of a faction or two amongst those whom you govern, instead of that of the entire community. I declare for one, who am as free from prejudice on this subject as any one, and who bears testimony in the broadest way to the fitness of the natives and the desirableness of employing them, where they are fit, I would not employ a native any more than an Englishman in a particular district or province in which his household gods were set and his worldly fortunes were cast. Why? Because he is a native? No; but because I would not appoint any one to an office in a locality in which he had for some time resided, and I would make no exception in favour of natives. It is a universal rule adopted in every department of the British Government. You do not appoint a Lancashire gentleman to be a county-court judge in Lancashire: you select another from another part of the country, and, if necessary, you move up the Lancashire gentleman to make a vacancy. Why? Because it behoves you to see that the administration of justice shall not be so much as suspected by the people. It may be said that the natives do not suspect anybody; but I know they do: I know that there is no country in the world where it is so dangerous to disregard appearances as it is in India; and I say that you are bound in a particular manner to see that in India those appearances are studied, and that nothing shall be done to bring the administration of justice or the administration of good government into contempt. I have much more to say on this subject, but the chair was not taken till long after the appointed time, as it never is. I do not blame you, but the committee, whose arrangements are such that we never meet at the appointed hour. We lost twenty minutes, the allowance of two speakers—ten minutes being, as I am painfully aware, the time allotted to each speaker—because the chair was not taken. We are now on the point of adjourning, and having some commiseration for those who wish to go home and get to bed, I must break off here, and entirely omit all I had to say upon the rest of the question raised by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. All I can say is, for these reasons and some others—but not at all because I doubt, which I do not, the capacity or integrity of my fellow-subjects, the Mussulmans, the Hindoos, and the Parsees of India—I shall give my vote against the motion.

Mr. BONNERJEE, in answer to Mr. Anstey's remark that there was no longer any distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted services, referred to the Act of 1861, which recited, "And whereas, by reason of the exigencies of the public service, vacancies in certain offices, places, and employments in India have been filled up by the appointment of persons not being civil servants, or not being civil servants belonging to the Presidency wherein the vacancies have happened, and otherwise not in accordance with the provisions of the 33rd George III.; and it is expedient that such appointments should be rendered valid, and also that the authorities in India

should be empowered to make such appointments in like cases in future;" the Act empowering the Governor-General to appoint persons not members of the covenanted service to any vacancies except those named in the schedule to the Act, which were to be filled only from amongst the covenanted civil servants of the Crown. Therefore obviously the distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted service still existed. As to Mr. Anstey's supposition that what was desired was to thrust natives upon the Governor-General and the Governors of the several Presidencies, whether the Governor-General and the Governors of the Presidencies liked it or not, the natives asked for nothing of the sort; all that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji proposed was, that there should be a competitive examination for the civil service held in India, which examination should be open, not only to the natives, but to every person. It was not to be supposed that natives would come 7000 miles upon the chance of passing an examination in England; but if they were allowed to try their luck in India, they would be ready, after passing an examination there, to come to this country and undergo a second examination. With respect to local sympathies, he did not say that it would not be safe, but he agreed with Mr. Anstey that it would not be prudent, to allow natives of the Presidency of Bengal, for instance, to be civil servants in the Presidency of Bengal if it could be helped, though necessarily if a Bengalee showed himself fit for the highest offices, and if he were appointed to those offices, he must be placed in Bengal; but the natives of India had no objection to the appointment of a Bombay man to an office in Bengal, and *vice versa*. And no doubt if after a native of Bengal had passed his second examination in this country, he were sent to another part of India than that with which he was familiar, he would find that there was a great deal to be learnt in that other part of the country, and he would find himself improved. He concluded by suggesting to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to alter the phraseology of his Resolution. While the Association had no idea of being dictatorial or otherwise than respectful to the Secretary of State, they should be as firm in the expression of their opinion as possible, and therefore he suggested that the terms of the Resolution should be that a humble Memorial be presented to the Secretary of State for India in the spirit of the paper read by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and that he be requested to take the paper into his consideration, and, in reply to Mr. Fawcett's motion, to accede to the Memorial presented on the 21st August by a deputation from this Association.

Mr. GORDON.—Gentlemen, I have listened with much pleasure to the paper we have heard read to-night, and I have seldom listened to one in which the question discussed was more ably, more judiciously, and I think more fairly and candidly, placed before us than was the case in the paper which has just been read. I regret much that I am unable to agree, as I generally do, with everything that has been expressed by my friend, Mr. Anstey. I think a good deal of what he has said must have been owing to his absence from the room during a part of the time the paper was being read. He certainly appears, from many of his remarks, to have misunderstood what was very clearly and distinctly placed before us by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. It appears to me that the question before the Association is a very narrow one. We have not to go into the question of the propriety or the necessity of admitting natives into what I must call the covenanted service—no one could have been in India without constantly hearing the terms "covenanted" and "uncovenanted" service in every one's mouth; we all know what is meant by the "covenanted" service. Our gracious Queen, our Parliament, and the feeling of Englishmen all over the kingdom, are in favour of the natives of India being admitted into the highest offices for which they are capable; and the question then simply comes to this—Are the wishes of the Queen and of Parliament to be carried out fairly and impartially? It appears to me to be thoroughly unjust, and to be, while keeping faith to the word, breaking it to the spirit, when we place the difficulty of caste, and 7000 miles, between the natives of India and the offices which they are capable of filling, by obliging them to come to this country. And it appears to me that what the Association is now asked to do is simply to bring before the Secretary of State our wish and anxiety that what is already the law should be in fact and in deed carried out fairly and justly to the natives of India. With regard to the wording of the Memorial, it did not occur to me that there was any objection to it, nor does it appear to me to be at all unbecoming in this Association that the secretary should send a letter representing the opinions of the Association to the Secretary of State; but if any better mode can be pointed out, I should certainly, for one, wish that every possible respect should be shown him. We should in all cases



act with the utmost courtesy, and not ask more than what is fair and just from the Government of this country.

CHAIRMAN.—As the hour is very late—though I do not in the least wish to stop any gentleman who wishes to speak—I would suggest whether we had not better now come to a vote upon the subject, and before doing so I would like to say a few words myself. With regard to the question of this Association addressing a letter to the Secretary of State, I should be the very last person to advocate anything like dictation to the Cabinet or to the Government; but I certainly am aware from experience that numbers of associations—some of them, I must say, without any wish to exalt this Association unduly, very much inferior in calibre to this—are constantly in the habit of addressing letters to the Secretary of State; for instance, a certain association which I will not name, in a small town in the north of England, addresses the Secretary of State on various subjects of political importance, and we constantly see in the papers references to letters which have been addressed to the Secretary of State. Therefore I cannot imagine that there can be anything improper in merely acquainting the Secretary of State with the opinion of this meeting. With regard to the question itself, as to allowing an examination to be established in India, it appears to me to be so very reasonable, that I should really be inclined, were I a native of India, to put at the end of it, as Lord Clive did on a very different occasion, “and I am astonished at my own moderation.” It has been declared and promised that natives shall be admitted to the civil service, but there is a great obstacle to their admission into that service, in their being obliged to come to this country, and it has been suggested that an examination should be held in India as well as here. If Englishmen like to go and compete there, and take all the prizes from the natives, well and good; but do not let us, as the last speaker said, keep the promise to the ear and break it to the sense. I certainly, for my own part, am inclined to support this Resolution.

MR. DADABHAI NAORJI.—I think it is unfortunate that Mr. Anstey was not in the room the whole of the time during which my paper was being read, as he has really misunderstood my meaning. I will leave his speech as it stands, without making any remarks upon it, requesting him to read my paper through, as several of his remarks are irrelevant. I will not enter into the question as to the necessity of appointing persons to localities other than those with which they are connected. What we are asking is that fair facilities should be given for the admission of natives into the civil service of India. To say that there should be no natives in the civil service of India is like saying that there should be no Englishmen in the civil service of England. The localities of appointment are matters of detail, to be well left to Government. Let us first put natives and Englishmen on an equal footing as regards entrance into the service; let the obstacles which are at present in the way of the former be removed; put the standard of examination as high as you like; make natives come up to that high standard in competition with Englishmen, in cricket, in rowing, in riding, in anything you like, as well as in learning and character, and then they will know what they are required to do, and if they fail it will be their own fault—nobody will be sorry that they are not appointed to offices for which they do not show themselves to be fit. I am glad that I have the testimony of Mr. Chisholm Anstey added to the rest which I have already quoted with regard to the ability and integrity of the natives. With regard to the covenanted and the uncovenanted services, Mr. Anstey is mistaken when he says there is no covenanted service as distinct from the uncovenanted service, for I have here a dispatch issued only a few weeks ago from the India Office, in which Sir Stafford Northcote, in reply to a letter from the Governor-General, transmitting the Resolution he passed to employ natives in the non-regulation provinces, says that it appears to him that there is room for carrying out the principle to a considerable extent in the regulation provinces also. And he lays down the principle that, without interfering with the prospects and interests of the existing incumbents in the *uncovenanted* service of the Government, the inherent right of the natives of India should be kept in view, and therefore in future promotions and appointments care should be taken that natives of ability and integrity be largely employed; which almost amounts to this, that the *uncovenanted* service should be filled by natives. Now, with regard to the practical exclusion of the natives from the service, Sir Erskine Perry, in his dissent, says, that the dispatch does not go far enough; that it ought to go farther; and he points out “A Select Committee of this Council (that is, the Indian Council itself)” reported in 1860, that although, *technically*, all office in India was open to natives, *practically* they were excluded, and they made

strong recommendation for their larger admission to high posts." We simply ask that this *practical* difficulty of obliging natives to come here to be examined should be removed, and that they should be examined in India. With regard to the form of my Resolution, my first idea was to propose a deputation; but we must not trouble the Secretary of State too much; we must remember that we have lately sent one or two deputations to him already. Seeing that the debate on Mr. Fawcett's motion is to come on on Tuesday, and that what we did should be done quickly, though I had first written the word "Deputation," I thought I had better leave it out, because it would be taking up too much of Sir Stafford Northcote's time, and substitute the proposal to send him a letter with the paper, and from the intense interest which he takes in all questions concerning India, I am sure he will pay the greatest possible attention to it. I do not think we are showing him the slightest discourtesy. If, however, any alteration could be made in the Resolution, I should be most happy to allow it to be done. My object is to give the least trouble to Sir Stafford Northcote, and to bring our case before him once more before Mr. Fawcett's motion is discussed, so that we may not be told "You have come too late."

CHAIRMAN.—The Resolution is, "That a letter be addressed to the Secretary of State for India, with a copy of this paper, to request him to take it into his consideration, and, in reply to Mr. H. Fawcett's motion, to accede to the Memorial presented on 21st August last by a deputation from this Association."

The Resolution was carried unanimously, with the exception of Mr. Chisholm Anstey.

The Earl of Kellie moved, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

MEETING, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1869.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by HYDE CLARKE, Esq., F.S.S.:—

*On Transport in India, in reference to the Interests of England and India.*

THE productive power of a country is to some extent proportionate to its population, but in effect it is greatly limited by the power absorbed in distribution. So far as consumption is supplied by the products of the soil, it can be provided by the labour of the local population; but so far as it is supplied by exchangeable products, then the products to be exchanged and the products to be received must be carried or transported over a greater or less distance.

In a country well provided with water communication, like the district of the Ganges, conveyance is afforded cheaply by a small proportion of men employed in working the boats or craft, and with still greater economy of human labour by means of steamboats. This, however, is exceptional, and does not apply generally to India or most countries, for in the absence of river and sea navigation, produce must be carried slowly by animals, and with the assistance of much human labour.

Generally speaking, the poorer the country the greater is the proportion of men and beasts employed in the carrying trade, using up food, and very frequently diminishing the productive power of the country. In Spain and South America the mules and muleteers absorb much of the produce; in Turkey and Arabia, the camels; in India, the buffaloes and bullocks. The mules and camels, it will be readily recognized, produce nothing—they consume; and in India it is the same with the beasts employed in carriage. If possible, it is desirable in all countries to diminish pressure on the food that is produced from the soil, and to increase rather the food so produced.

The produce of the soil where, as in many parts of India, there are waste lands, must first be increased by placing population to do the work; but where the population is adequate, then production is to be increased by more skilful culture, as better supply of water and better implements of agriculture.

Wherever, as on the banks of the Ganges, of the Imperial Canal in China, or of the Mississippi in America, there is cheap water conveyance, the local population

have great advantages, and can send exchangeable produce under very favourable circumstances to the most distant regions of the globe, receiving, under the most favourable and economical conditions, the foreign produce sent in return. It is desirable, so far as India is concerned, to place the country generally under conditions approaching so far as may be to the limits of the most economical and effective transport.

So far we have considered transport only with reference to absolute rate of freight, but this is only one part of the expense of transport, and one element of its operation. If fresh fruit is to be conveyed, cheapness of freight will cease to be of advantage after a certain time has been consumed in the journey. Fish is another familiar example. It is quite futile to talk of conveying sea-fish fresh two or three weeks' journey on a river or canal. Thus we find time is an element in transport.

If this is so as to perishable articles, it is also the case as to durable articles of merchandise. Employ a certain time on the road, rains come on and injure the goods, besides impeding communication. Thus the season for reaching the port of shipment is lost; and, what is much more, the season for reaching the European market of sale is lost. Rates of interest of 1, 1½, 2, and 5 per cent. per month begin to operate, besides many other causes of expense and loss.

In the case of an exchangeable article of produce like cotton, the ruling principle is the price of the cotton at Liverpool. The ryot, or cultivator in India, commonly receives the balance of that price after all the charges on the road, in the port, and on the voyage have been paid. If, therefore, these intermediate deductions can be reduced, there will be a greater net balance for the ryot in India, and that whether the price is high or low.

This is why the question of transport is of so much importance to all classes in India, and particularly to the poorest classes—the cultivating classes—because it refers to the most effective means for giving them the highest prices for all their exchangeable produce, and not only that, but for giving them the greatest amount of all other commodities received in payment: a high price for cotton will give an occasional—a casual—bonus to the people of India; but an improvement in the means of transport will confer on them speedy and permanent benefit.

Such have long been my convictions, not only as an economist, but from special investigation, and from practical experience. Somewhere about a quarter of a century ago, at the time the establishment of the railway system in India was agitated, I was invited to investigate the question, What were the elements of traffic in India, particularly with reference to the point whether a country with such low rates of charge could provide the revenues for railways? Materials were placed in my hands by the pioneers of railways in India, Sir Macdonald Stephenson, and the late John Chapman and J. M. Heath. The ground for my being entrusted with this task was my publications on English, French, and Belgian railway traffic. The results of my labours as to India were comprised in 'The Practical and Theoretical Considerations on the Management of Railways in India,' being based on facts obtained from General Briggs, Sir Andrew Waugh, and Mr. Theobald—now living to test their own statements—as well as from others who are dead. At a later period—about ten years ago—it became my duty to go over the same process in Turkey, in a 'Report on the Traffic of Smyrna and the Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to India,' which was published by direction of Sir Macdonald Stephenson in 1860.

It has been under these circumstances that, being invited to take part in the labours of the East India Association for the promotion of the welfare of India, the present subject has been chosen, which is the consideration of Transport in India, in reference to the interests of England and India.

This subject may be treated with regard to the mode of transit, as road, water, or railway, or in reference to the general principles on which the greatest benefit to the population can be obtained. There has been, unfortunately, great diversity of opinion—it may be said almost party differences—as to the extent to which the modes of transit should be encouraged, and to such a degree, that many go to the length of discouraging or postponing railway communication, and many advocate an exclusive preference for the improvement of water communication.

One reason for this is the assumption, that if railways are to be constructed, they are so costly as to absorb the revenues and capital of India; and therefore it is asserted to be better to improve some of the rivers and to make canals, leaving railways to look after themselves.

If India were proposed to be kept in the position of China, cramped to one condition, and impeded in the full tide of progress, in equality to the United States or any other country, that might be a political plea; but there is no true political or economical reason for depriving India of railways, or of any means of improvement by canalization or irrigation, and there are many moral reasons for promoting her progress. If goods were to be alone regarded or chiefly considered, then India may wait while a greater supply of bullock-carts, or the occasional navigation of some of the shallower rivers, provides a temporary palliative for her wants; but in India there are two hundred millions of people under our empire, and men are to be more regarded than bags of sugar or bales of cotton. It is because man is a being with a mind, having a mental capacity, which is a power beyond even his physical capacity, that it is necessary to provide him with the means of putting his mental and physical endowments to the best account. It is no longer a question whether something is good enough for India, or whether something a little better can be done for India; but it is the wish of Englishmen to do all for India which experience has shown can be done elsewhere.

Price of freight, it has been already stated, is not the only element in the question of transport; if it were so, no goods could be carried by the East Indian Railway alongside of the Ganges, and it need scarcely be said no passengers could be conveyed. Experience is settling this question. So far as a river is the best and cheapest route for passengers and goods, it will carry them; but price is not all. Each day that a passenger spends on a railway or river he loses his day's earnings, and he can afford to pay most for the quickest passage. It is, too, for the interest of the community that his effective power shall not be wasted.

In the case of goods, a higher rate of speed gives:—

1. A saving of interest;
2. A saving of market price;
3. A saving of quality, or economy against waste;
4. A saving of stock, or a less necessity for unprofitable accumulation of commodities.

These influences will be most felt as the price of the commodity is greater, and will be smaller as the price is less,—greater on cotton than on rice. The price of articles of food is lower than that of exportable articles of commerce; but then, from another point of view, it becomes of the greatest importance to provide for the ready transport and distribution of food, the food-crop varying with the vicissitudes of climate, and its failure not being attended with a diminished consumption of clothing, but with the horrors of famine, and the deaths of myriads of men.

Thus time of transit, whether as regards passengers or goods, should, all other circumstances being equal, be reduced to the lowest limits, and with fair administration this quicker transport will pay for itself. Consequently there must be provided for all India those arterial lines of railway that can carry great quantities of men and produce, while all means must be adopted by roads, canals, and canalized rivers to ensure economical and effective distribution. Rivers, too, no more afford intercommunication between the provinces of India than they do between the States of the Union; the Ganges does not help Madras, nor the Indus Bombay. India, too, is restricted even in coast communication, by its bad ports and by the monsoons. Thus internal transport must be developed to the full, and all means must be provided for the interchange of those various products which the great resources of India afford.

Railway transport under a competent administration provides a great economy under various heads:—

1. Safety from wet and mud;
2. Safety from heat;
3. Safety from wreck;
4. Safety from robbery.

Without going into this matter in detail, it is notorious how produce of various kinds is damaged, consumed, and plundered in the boats and carts, resulting in a loss of the produce raised. Thus a great quantity of the produce raised never reaches the market, and the real loser is the ryot, just as much as if so much rice or cotton were burnt in his fields; because after all, the merchant, having to cover himself for his risks, only pays for the produce which reaches the market. It is not the Indian or foreign consumer who pays for waste, but the Indian ryot.

Let those who think that India is a poor country, unable to pay for effective transport, observe that already in many cases 6d., 8d., and 10d. per ton per mile are common rates of carriage in India. Where the rate is 8d. per ton per mile in a favourable season, it is not over a long route, and is attended with effective charges for loss of interest, &c., and for waste—at least doubling the nominal rate of freight on the article sold in the market.

The cultivator being dependent on the realization of his crop, it is of the greatest importance to him that the crop shall be realized in the most effectual manner, and in the shortest time. We may disguise to ourselves the transaction, and figure that the town or village usurer is the person to gain or lose; but the ultimate and real party affected is the cultivator. Everywhere in Asia the condition of the cultivator in all ages has been to be indebted to the town usurer or shopkeeper; but a change is taking place. The great demand for cotton, and the high price given for it, has caused the cultivator to favour cotton; the telegraph brings the prices into his district, and he seeks to get the highest price of a favourable season. He has still to contend with his own improvidence and the devices of the usurer; but he has profited by improved prices, he is a richer man, and he feels the way to become rich. Thus a spirit of improvement is abroad which will materially affect the condition of the agricultural classes of India and of Turkey. What I saw in Turkey as Cotton Commissioner has been seen by many in the collectorates of India, that the high prices paid for cotton became a largess to the cultivators of the soil.

This encouragement of agricultural improvement is connected with another economical operation, which, as I long since pointed out, will affect India, as it has other countries, as a result of improved or railway communication, and that is the altering and raising of the prices of commodities, wages, and rents. This again affects the question of transport, and makes improved transport of greater necessity for India. Unquestionably, the price of raising cotton in India is higher now than it was ten or twenty years ago, and in order to assure the participation of the cultivator in the English market price, it is necessary to give him the compensation of reduced rates of transport.

One result of the alteration in prices will be to enable the Indian population to obtain exchangeable articles bearing a higher rate. Thus agricultural and other implements and machinery will become more accessible to the general population.

In view of this alteration of prices, it is desirable to push on public works of transport and irrigation, while the prices of wages and labour are yet relatively low, so as to turn the borrowed foreign capital to the best account.

Another change coming over India, as over Turkey, and as yet only dimly visible, is the application of local capital for local enterprises, instead of their being dependent solely on external capital. It is an error to suppose that no capital will be obtained except on the basis of local rates of 1 or 1½ per cent. per month, for the experience of countries under the like conditions, as Turkey and South America, shows that coexistently with such rates capital can be invested at 6 per cent. per annum. The reason is this, that as a country advances, security being always an element in investment as well as profit, or rather more so, money, which in a low condition of the country was hoarded, is invested in good securities at a low rate of interest. This takes place on the same ground that we have concurrently here investments in Consols at 3½ or 3¾ per cent., and in speculative bonds and shares at 7 and 10 per cent. So in Ireland the hoarding of sovereigns is giving place to investments.

The more rapidly the development of a country takes place the earlier do the present inhabitants and the present generation profit by it, and on that consideration it is desirable to take advantage of the most effective means. Instruments of transport are a part of the working plant and stock of a country; and as we have seen from the example of England in comparison with other countries, the better these instruments are the more is progress promoted. Thus in England, first canals, then turnpike-roads and quick stages, and afterwards railways with high speed, have advanced the agricultural and industrial prosperity of the country. Roads with bullock-carts or pack animals can do this to a very small extent, as they cover only a small extent of country, and do not greatly promote the interchange of labour, food, cattle, implements, mineral and animal manures. Water channels are a partial improvement on this, but their low speed impedes their efficiency.

The railway is a great and efficient instrument and machine of labour, when properly applied, and this is seen not only in an old and highly-developed country like this, but as well in the thinly-peopled or as yet unpeopled territories of the United

States. The quicker and the farther we can extend the objects of interchange the greater is the power we are able to bring to bear on the individual country or district. Thus we promote the greatest economy of all exchangeable resources, and the highest development of all capabilities.

On careful consideration there is nothing but the railway will effect this, and the sooner we profit from the experience of America and cover India with railways the better. Those who hesitate at the cost but little appreciate the economical bearings of the subject, or profit from the teachings of experience. To place India on a limited regimen of railways is to starve her vitality. Give her railways, and she will have roads in connection, roads throughout the country, improved rivers, increased navigation, irrigation, augmented production, enlarged revenues, and all the elements that well-being can contribute to prosperity.

Everything is tending in favour of India, if advantage be but taken of the occasion. Light railways and light working stock now promise economy for branches. That latest application, the wire tramway, now extending in France, and to which attention is being directed in India, is particularly suitable for our empire. Not only will the wire tramway overcome in our hill stations the great irregularities of gradient, but it is particularly suitable for the large shifting rivers. A means of transport which dispenses with bridges, viaducts, and culverts, which can be laid down for 600*l.* a mile or less, and can be removed when occasion requires, will be found particularly available where economy of capital is an object.

In a matter of this kind, although material considerations may first present themselves, yet the moral bearings are those most important. To give the intelligence of the natives of India freer scope is, as we know, to promote the development of the empire. Enable the higher native merchant of Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras, the Parsee, the Marwarree to move about more freely by himself and his agents, and you provide for the distribution of capital and the advancement of enterprise. Still more do you effect this by making your English population more available for the same purposes. The very advancement of the high natives of India is owing to the example of Englishmen, and by emulation with them. While in detail the prosperity of India must depend on native action, yet the head of the system is the English population, doing for India what they have done for England. The utilization of this resource I have ever regarded as the great means for the intellectual and industrial elevation of India.\* Place a body of Englishmen in the healthy hill regions of India, enable them by means of good communications to propagate their intelligence over the vast districts of the empire, and the healthy growth of India will be ensured. The Englishman must be thrown more in contact with the native, the native more with the Englishman, each must better understand the other; the pride of the conqueror must be abated, the jealousy of him, a still more dangerous feeling, must be abolished; all must become co-operators according to their capacities. India has been the inheritance of conquerors. Brahmins are as intrusive as Moguls. The Englishman is no more and no less intrusive than the Emperor of Delhi. The Brahmins did their share in introducing an intellectual culture, the Mussulman planted political administration and erected costly monuments, the Englishman promotes material and intellectual prosperity, but he gives more than all conquerors have dared to give except to themselves—political rights, individual independence, and the heirloom of free institutions. It lies with India herself to profit by this. The era of class privileges may come to its end, and the wildest hill-tribe bear up as proudly as a Rajpoot, and the smallest sect or nationality of Parsees enjoy the same independence as the powerful millions of Solam. If India is to obtain this it must be by abating the virulence of local factions; and the English alone can accomplish this.

In connection with the means for promoting this desirable result, must not be omitted the through route between England and India.† This is imperative for

\* 1. 'Colonization, Defence, and Railways in our Indian Empire.' By Hyde Clarke. *Urale*. 1857.

2. "On the Organization of the Army of India, with Especial Reference to the Hill Regions." By Hyde Clarke. 'Journal of the United Service Institution,' vol. iii. 1859.

3. 'Report on Telegraphic Communications in India, made to the H. E. I. Co.' By Francis Colleshaw and Hyde Clarke. 1819.

4. 'Report of the Indian Committee of the Society of Arts for 1869.' Paper by Hyde Clarke on Hill Settlements.

† "On a Daily Mail Route to India." By Hyde Clarke. 'Journal of the Society of Arts,' vol. xvi, p. 278. 1868.

"On the Military and Political Advantages of the Through Route to India." By Hyde Clarke. 'Journal of the Royal United Service Institution.' 1868.

strengthening the tie between the Western and Eastern empire, more important, perhaps, for cultivating the growing intercourse of Indians with England, than even for facilitating the communications of Englishmen. This route is now advancing from each end. On this side it makes slow approaches towards Constantinople, and yet but a little time and we look forward to operations in that great interval of Asiatic Turkey, towards which our hopes have been so long directed. India, it may be said, without intending it, has already provided much of the eastern route, and once the prospect is more sure, the requisite extensions will not be wanting.

The subject of improved, and it may be said of accelerated, transport, has indeed so many and such wide ramifications, that it cannot be treated so briefly. All that can be hoped is that attention may again be awakened to the subject, and now that India has, after so many years of lamentable delay, obtained the rudiments of a railway system, that its development may be at least permitted, and not be retarded.

If the question of railways in India had been opportunely taken in hand, then that capital which has been raised in the last two years in England for railways in Russia and other foreign countries would have been employed for the development of India. The capital, employed in Russia, has only given a partial employment to our people in the manufacture of rails and engines, divided with the manufacturers of France, Belgium, North Germany, and Austria, who have been paid with our money. Had such capital been applied, by judicious Government measures, as it might have been, and ought to have been, for India, then we should have had the sole supply of rails, engines, and freight, and India would further have taken from us a large supply of manufactured goods. Thus the suffering industries of this country would have been relieved in this period of panic and crisis, Manchester would have profited as well as the iron and coal districts, and we should have had a greater demand for the cotton and other products of India.

So, too, with regard to the development of cotton, silk, and other industries of India; an efficient railway system, by enabling the English and the Indian merchant to traverse the country, will most effectually promote the desired objects.

It may be said, indeed, that motives of humanity appeal to us as powerfully as those of profit. India has from the beginning of time been ravaged by famines and droughts, as until the close of the middle ages this island was; but the dreadful famines of India, formerly looked upon as a matter of course, attracted less attention than in this day, when the most rapid means of propagating intelligence have been introduced by us, and when newspapers make known facts in the languages of the population. Thus even the smallest of these calamities in some little familiar locality appears before us in its full horrors, and instead of passing by the visitation in despair, we contemplate the remedial measures that can prevent its recurrence. Foremost amongst these remedies is railway communications. This will enable food to be transmitted, and the superabundant population to be removed temporarily to other spheres of labour. It will also promote, where possible, the establishment of irrigation works, the only permanent form of relief. Thus whenever a partial failure of food takes place, the whole resources of India will be made rapidly available for relief. Food will not arrive when the sufferers are dead or paralyzed by disease—it will come to arrest starvation and disease. Improved transport will in times of famine diminish the consumption of food by beasts of burden employed in the conveyance of food, for the railways will be supplied by the coal deposits of India.

The distribution of the population for the general welfare of the empire is now a practical question. No part of India any longer belongs to its local population. Bengal is neither the domain nor the prison of the Bengalee, for he is the citizen of India, free to employ everywhere his labour, capital, and intelligence with full right, and with the compensation that he can in his own district profit by the resources of all India. Thus the unsettled regions have to bestow riches on the poor of those over-populated, the more intelligent and better educated classes have the function of elevating the ruder nations and developing their resources. The movement of the population, which has existed from all tradition, must now take place under freer conditions, and vast internal migrations will promote the advancement of India. All this has to go on under new arrangements. The Ganges and the Indus are no longer the sole highways of nations, the paths to conquest or defeat; a rail of iron laid over plains, defiles, and mountains between Calcutta and Bombay, or between Bombay and Madras, now does in hours what the mighty rivers slowly carried out in weeks. Time is altered in its measure, and we must move with it. The good which God gives is



not to be measured in time, in its years or its moments, but that good we have now to share out among men in other measure than of old, that the poor may become rich, the rich richer, that misery may be abated, that happiness may be advanced, that virtue may be promoted, that each man in his lifetime may have greater enjoyment, and that his children's children may inherit the fulness of his life's exertions.

Such are the principles for the promotion of which this East India Association has been founded, and by their application to make England and India contributory for each other's welfare. It is in subordination to these principles that the present paper is submitted to the Association, in the sincere hope that its consideration by the numerous members of a powerful society may be advantageous to one of the many measures calculated to advance the common good.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI observed that it was satisfactory to find that the Government had decided to construct railways in future by loans, instead of by what was called private enterprise, the fact being that under the system of giving companies a guarantee all the losses arising from waste fell upon the State, while the profit mostly went to the guaranteed companies. If the Government would only do their duty, and proceed on the sound but seemingly paradoxical principle of spending more in order to save more (by spending I don't mean wasting), employing competent persons to carry out the works on behalf of the Government, men who understood their duty and their responsibilities, much more benefit would result to the country than under the system of giving companies a guarantee, by which system, though it was called private enterprise, a double waste and a double expense was incurred, the works being constructed by the engineer of the companies under the superintendence of the engineer of the Government. Dividing public works generally into the two heads of, first, barracks and roads, and, second, railways, irrigation works, and canals, he thought it would be an injustice to the future to construct, by means of loans entirely, barracks and roads, which were unproductive works which might at any time be abandoned, and which involved a continuous expense. At the same time he thought it would be unjust and oppressive that the whole expense of those works should be thrown at once upon the present, especially seeing that the future, owing to the greater development of the resources of the country, would be better able to meet the expenditure than the present. Therefore if barracks and roads were made under the plan adopted in England in building fortifications, *viz.* by raising loans to be paid off in a certain number of years, the burden would be fairly divided between the present and the future. With regard to railways and irrigation works, seeing that every one conceded that they would produce at least 5 per cent., and seeing that the Government can raise the money at 4 per cent., there should be no hesitation whatever in pushing on railways especially, and irrigation and canal works, as fast as possible, with capital drawn from this country. There was this difference between the present and the former rulers of India. Though the Brahmins and the Moguls were as much foreigners as the English, they remained in the country, and became of the country, spending the revenue derived from the country in the country itself. On the other hand, the English rulers (he did not complain of it—it was a matter of necessity) drew away from the wealth of the country from 8,000,000*l.* to 10,000,000*l.* yearly. Regarding India as a firm managed by England, the firm had a right to expect that the manager should so manage the concern as to produce his own salary and something more. The greater development of the resources of the country by the English was not only a moral and physical but a great political necessity. It was not to be wondered at that in the beginning of the English rule, when so large an amount was drawn from the country, the country appeared to be impoverished; but now it was to be hoped, looking at the efforts made to improve the railway communication, and to supply transport to the utmost possible extent, the English manager would do his duty in developing as far as possible the material prosperity of the country. Notwithstanding the slow progress made by the British up to this time, there were hopeful signs (as far as one could judge from the declarations of Lord Mayo to the deputation of this Association) that there was an earnest desire on the part of the British rulers to develop the resources of the country, and to save the country from those famines which from time to time occurred. Even if the works themselves (which is not at all likely) could not pay the 4 or 5 per cent. required for the interest of loans for the carrying out of works for the development of the resources of the country, the consideration of the saving of life and property should be enough to justify the incurring of loans for the purpose

of carrying out those works. He hoped that the British rulers would rise to the height of their responsibilities.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD agreed with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his remarks on the subject of building barracks. He (Sir Charles Wingfield) thought the proposition to spend twelve and a half millions on barracks, spread over five or six years, hardly a wise one. Moreover, those barracks were not absolutely required for the health of the troops, many of the existing barracks being unimpeachable in a sanitary point of view. In some places in India the permanent barracks now proposed to be constructed would be the third set since the Indian mutiny. At no less than seventy stations in India those permanent barracks were to be erected at a distance in some cases of thirty or forty miles apart. On the item of barrack expenditure he thought a good deal of money which it was proposed to expend might be saved. In many cases he had no doubt the sites chosen, though they might be selected by a committee composed of medical officers, would have to be abandoned on sanitary grounds. And further, though he did not himself apprehend anything from Russia, there would doubtless be a feeling, before the lapse of many years, that we must mass our troops in the North-West. If that were done, a great number of the barracks now proposed to be constructed would have to be abandoned. In his opinion permanent barracks should be limited to places of great strategic importance, and great centres of population, such as Allahabad and Agra. With respect to the general tenor of Mr. Hyde Clarke's paper, *viz.* the importance of spending a great deal of money on public works of transport, he believed there could not be two opinions on the point. It was conceded that a vast number of additional miles of railway were wanted for India. It was contemplated by the Government to make 10,000 miles, it being admitted that 20,000 or 30,000 more were wanted. There could be no division of opinion on the necessity of opening railways—the only question was the expense. He thought the principle a sound one which had been laid down by the Government of India, of not proceeding at too rapid a rate. At this moment, though 80,000,000*l.* had been spent on guaranteed railways (20,000,000*l.* more being required to complete them), not one of those railways, with the exception of the East Indian, paid 5 per cent., therefore it would not be wise policy to go on making railways too rapidly before there was a return in the shape of interest. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had alluded to the great dead weight on the country by 8,000,000*l.* or 10,000,000*l.* being annually sent away to England, but the money went in fixed pensions, in interest on the original East India Stock, in interest on loans raised in England, and in military stores, those stores not being procurable in India. It was a great misfortune that the loans should be raised in England—the Government would be glad to raise the money in India if it could, but no one would lend money in India at 5 per cent. when he could get double the interest on excellent security. He had long entertained a strong opinion that if we wanted to get the people of India to embark their money in works to develop the wealth of the country and the prosperity of the people, the first condition was that we should take the people of the country more into our confidence, and admit them to a greater share in the government of the country. When they saw that the government of India was a government carried on for their good, and that they had a voice in it, they would see the advantage of embarking money in its improvement. He (Sir Charles Wingfield) would like to see adopted that plan which Sir Robert Montgomery had advocated, that in the government of each Presidency there should be consultative councils of natives, selected from the great landowners and the leading men in commerce and trade, whose opinions and feelings should be consulted in all matters affecting the interests of the people.

The CHAIRMAN, having adverted to the serious state of things at Manchester at present in regard to the supply of cotton, invited any gentleman who might be present from Manchester to address to the meeting any observations which might occur to him on the question of transport in India in relation to the supply of cotton from that country.

MR. JOHN CHEETHAM.—I was unfortunately prevented being in time to hear Mr. Clarke's paper, therefore I had no idea, having missed that paper, of addressing any remarks to the meeting. I came rather to listen to the observations which gentlemen might make to the meeting. At the present moment Lancashire is very deeply interested in everything which is connected with India, and more especially with the subject which Mr. Clarke has brought before us this evening—*viz.* improved communication in India. We have a state of things in Lancashire which is not so bad as it

was during the American war, but which, in some parts of the county, is verging close upon it. In the neighbourhood of Blackburn 5000 workmen are now receiving parish relief, and in other districts short working is the general rule. Though some parties have revived the old doctrine of protection, saying, it is because we have not reciprocity that we are in this distress, the real fact after all is, that we have a scarcity of the great raw material which is to keep our workpeople employed, and we cannot at the present price—which is 100 per cent. more than its normal price previous to the American war—expect to find the consumption similar to what it was previously to that war. Therefore, so long as this condition of things exists, we cannot expect to find full employment for our operatives, or for the capital laid out in the great cotton industry. Though we have some other countries in the world making somewhat satisfactory progress in the production of cotton, yet still there is no country which can make up for the deficiencies of America except India. At the commencement of the American war the average supply from India was about 500,000 bales per annum; now, at the end of eight years, we have been receiving 1,500,000 bales; so that the present supply was threefold the former supply. We contend that is not at all such an increase as we ought to have had when we consider the immense amount of land under cultivation, and the facilities for obtaining labour. What is the reason why we have not succeeded in obtaining an adequate supply from India? We attribute it first to the very deficient state of agriculture amongst the ryots. They only produce about 70 lbs. per English acre, whereas the American cultivator produces 300 or 400 lbs. We have been pressing upon the Government certain measures for stimulating the increase of that cultivation. It is quite evident that we do not want any additional land given us, or any large population brought in to cultivate land not hitherto brought into cultivation: if we could only succeed in stimulating the existing grower to make his 70 lbs. into 140 lbs., the whole question would be solved. In the next place, it is of very little use to increase the cultivation if you do not provide the means of carrying the produce down to the seaport: and many years ago, when we commenced our investigation of cotton-growing in India, this want of communication was the very first thing we pressed upon the Government. We said, give us railways; or, if those cannot be given, give us roads, and give us river navigation. They commenced a series of railways, but I very soon observed that the object in view in the construction of those lines, which has continued as the great object of the Indian Government up to the present day, was less to serve commercial purposes than military purposes. For instance, the Madras line runs right through the province of Madras—not from one great city to another, but from one military station to another, large cities being left at a distance of six or seven miles from the line. I do not say it is not important to have railways between those military stations, but it is far more important, in the first instance, to seek to develop the resources of the country, to elevate the social position of the great mass of the community, and make them attached to your rule. By enabling them to exchange their commodities with Great Britain, you benefit both countries. At the present moment the Government are more ready to listen to propositions for the extension of the resources of the country than before. Public opinion has at last operated on the India Office. I have always said, you will have no improvement in the government and administration of the affairs of India unless the public opinion of England is brought to bear upon the Office; and therefore I have told them in Lancashire over and over again, it is incumbent upon you to inform yourselves on Indian matters, in order that you may make an intelligent pressure on the Government at home. The Duke of Argyll is most anxious to improve the communications of the country, and several lines which will materially improve the cultivation of cotton, by bringing the produce down to the ports, he has assented should be at once commenced. A very important matter is the construction of tramroads to the existing lines. As Captain Osborne said to me, in passing along the great lines you stop at a station, and you are in jungle, whereas, if a tramway were made down to the station, you might bring the produce of the country direct to the station; and I believe the Duke of Argyll is quite ready to promote measures of that kind. Then there is also the navigation of rivers. Very little has been done yet to improve the navigation of the rivers. The Government have at last taken up the improvement of the Godavery, but they have made comparatively slow progress with it. Then you have the question of irrigation, connected as it is with the question of the prevention of those famines which from time to time devastate the population of India; and we certainly are not moving at all too early on that matter, after the sad spectacles we have seen in India,

which our neighbours on the Continent have rather freely commented on as showing the mistakes of our Government there. So it appears to me that if you wish to improve the condition of India, you cannot diminish the outlay upon the great public works. There is one thing which needs pressing on the Government, and that is, that it is high time a clear financial statement of Indian accounts should be presented to the people of England. No railway or private man of business would think of mixing up capital account and revenue account in the way in which they are mixed up in these financial statements from India. As regards what constituted "public works," when I was pressing on the East India Company many years ago some considerations on the laying out of money on unproductive works, they said, "We are always laying out money on public works." I said, "Look at your accounts; I do not find them in the accounts." Then they pointed to "barracks." I said, "You do not mean to tell me that that is a public work; it is a military expenditure, and ought to be under that head,—to call that a 'public work' is a misnomer altogether." There are two classes of public works—one class comprises roads and bridges, which may not produce a profit to pay off the original capital; the other class comprises works of irrigation, navigation, and railways, which ultimately will by their revenue repay you the principal; and for works of that class you ought to borrow money, and not mix up any matter of revenue with them. But what has been the system? If one year there was 2,000,000*l.* surplus, then the Government were busy constructing public works: if next year there was no surplus, everything was stopped. How could they construct works economically on a system of that kind? The staff employed one year was broken up the next. And so they have been going on till we are in this singular predicament. We had a debate in both Houses on the financial state of India, the statement of the accounts being received on the whole with very great applause; and the other day came accounts stating that all that had been said was totally wrong, and instead of there being a surplus there was a large deficiency. I say the first duty of the Government is to let us know by their figures what they are really doing. I have urged upon them again and again the example of Manchester. In the city of Manchester the gas-works are in the hands of the corporation, and the ratepayers and gas consumers have never had to spend a shilling on the works. They were constructed by borrowed money, the security being the rates of the city, and now those works are bringing in an income of 40,000*l.* clear for the improvement of the city. I say, why cannot you do that in India? Your officers estimate that irrigation works, for instance, would produce you from 20 to 40 per cent. I say, surely you can go into the London market and borrow money at 10 per cent., if not less, if you show that you will be able to pay that interest by a revenue of 30 per cent. I do think the English altogether—not only Lancashire, but you in London—are now so deeply interested in the well government of India, that you ought to unite in pressing on the existing administration an improvement in the present state of things. I understand that the Duke of Argyll, in consequence of these financial figures which have been forwarded to him, has taken the alarm, and is going to cut down the proposed outlays in the railways and other public works. I see the engineers have waited upon him with a view, I suppose, to prevail upon him to continue the proposed outlays, and I do think the interest you have taken in this matter should almost induce you to see whether he could not be persuaded to see his way to continue those outlays, seeing that the gradual improvement of India will in time, no question, repay those outlays. By the accounts lately received from India, there seems to be a prospect of a better supply of cotton from that country. The cotton trade is producing to India an income of 25,000,000*l.* per annum. I say, do not lose that trade by being indifferent to its development—remove the difficulties connected with the cultivation of cotton, and endeavour to secure the trade to India, and prevent its passing away to the United States when they resume cultivation. One means to that end is the improved communication which Mr. Clarke has been adverting to, and I feel you could not have had a more important subject brought before you than that on which the discussion has arisen.

Mr. S. W. BURTON agreed with what had fallen from Mr. Cheetham with reference to the advantage to India of constructing railways, but he could not agree with him in his remarks in which he looked forward to India competing successfully with America in the supply of cotton. He (Mr. Burton) had travelled in America, and he must say if the Lancashire people thought that India could ever compete with the Southern States of America, notwithstanding the melancholy war, they were never more mis-

taken in their lives. India, no doubt, could produce a great deal of cotton, but it never could come up to the cotton produced by the Southern States of America. No country in the world could compete with the Southern States. With regard to railway communication, the sooner money could be raised in this country to construct railways in India, the better for Indian finances.

Mr. Briggs thought that every one who knew anything about India must agree with everything brought forward in Mr. Clarke's paper. But with regard to the question whether the resources of India could be best developed by the Government or by private enterprise, seeing the little fruit hitherto produced by the Government, who were supposed to be the only channel through which public works could be properly constructed, it might well be doubted whether private enterprise would not have done a great deal more. Although the present Government knew well what India wanted, though they were well aware of the famines from time to time occurring in that country, and though they had before their eyes the want of employment and consequent distress in Lancashire, and not only in Lancashire, but throughout the whole kingdom, arising from the want of the raw material which the soil of India ought to produce, they were so regardless of all the principles of political economy as to propose to expend only 3,500,000*l.* for public works. Railways were no doubt required to carry the produce, but before railways were made there ought to be some produce to carry. Mr. Cheetham had said that only 70 lbs. of cotton per acre was produced in India; but he thought that Mr. Cheetham had over-stated the quantity, and that instead of 70 lbs. it was only 40 lbs. or 50 lbs. The reason why the produce was so small in India as compared with other parts of the world was because irrigation was wanted, and fertilizers were wanted. As regarded irrigation, the Government stood in the way, because they would only spend three and a half millions per annum on public works, whereas they ought to spend not less than twenty millions per annum; and as regarded fertilizers, the Government stood in the way because they taxed salt, which was one of the principal ingredients in fertilizers for cotton. To tax salt or to place any impediment on its introduction was not the way to develop the resources of the country. It was a very well-known maxim of political economy, that where the Government interfered with the operations of industry, private enterprise would always keep aloof. In India the Government took upon themselves to do everything, and the result was that nothing was done. While we had been waiting for the Government to carry out reproductive works in India, thereby developing the industry and aiding in the material prosperity of 200,000,000 of people, we had been allowing our British wealth to flow away unobserved to such places as Turkey and Russia. About 1,000,000*l.* of English capital (as he, Mr. Briggs, knew to his cost,) had been spent in carrying out irrigation works in the south of France. British capital had flowed in those directions instead of to India, because in India the Government had taken upon themselves the carrying out of public works. He (Mr. Briggs) had not the same hope that Mr. Cheetham and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji seemed to have of the Government carrying out the works of irrigation and communication which were necessary for developing the resources of the country. He judged of a tree by its fruits. In 1862, or 1863, a letter appeared in one of the Manchester papers pointing out that 1,000,000 bales of cotton from India was synonymous with distress and discontent, and everything that was undesirable; that 2,000,000 bales of cotton was an amelioration of that state of things to a certain extent; that 3,000,000 bales meant good cotton, and that everything was going on fairly; but 4,000,000 bales of cotton from India meant better cotton still, and that trade was in a very satisfactory state. Where there was an increase in the quantity there was also an improvement in the quality, because irrigation and fertilization not only increased the production per acre, but improved the quality. This being so, the problem reduces itself to a very small compass, *viz.* 1st, emancipate the land from the blighting hands of Government monopoly; 2nd, do away with the salt, opium, and all other indirect taxes; and 3rdly, encourage private enterprise for public works.

Mr. Wood (who stated that he was connected with one of the Indian railways) remarked, in reference to the question whether the works should be carried out by the Government or left to private enterprise, that the question for the Government was simply how far they were bound to devote the revenues of the country to ameliorating the condition of the country, while the question for private individuals before they subscribed their money to such purposes was whether the investment was or was not likely to be a profitable one. It could not be expected that the public would advance their money to make railways in India, without a guarantee from the Government,

when they only yielded 4 per cent. In looking for the reason of the return being so small, it was to be remembered that produce was carried at a very low rate compared with what the cost of carriage was before the railways were constructed. While the carriage was formerly from 6d. to 1s. 6d. a ton a mile, it was now 1d. a ton, the difference having gone to the benefit of the cultivators and the general improvement of the country. It was a mistake to regard the 5 per cent. paid to a guaranteed railway as an onus on the revenues of the country; the difference between the 4 per cent. and the guaranteed 5 per cent. really represented a gain to the country. If the Government either guaranteed a specific percentage on the money advanced by private individuals to construct a railway, or guaranteed a specific amount of traffic over it, people in this country would then willingly subscribe money for the construction of such railway.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI explained that when he said that he thought the Government were doing right in themselves undertaking the construction of railways, he did not mean to say anything against private enterprise properly so called. Nobody would be more glad than himself to see as much English private enterprise introduced into India as possible, but he wished that it should be real private enterprise. Private enterprise was generally supposed to be where those who undertook the work took all the profits and bore all the loss; he did not consider that it could be properly called private enterprise where, as in the case of guaranteed railways in India, a certain rate of interest was to be paid on expenditure more or less wasteful, the shareholders feeling no interest to prevent such waste.

Mr. CLARKE.—Gentlemen, my friend the Chairman having called on me to make some remarks in reply, perhaps you will bear with me a few minutes while I do so, because my paper has perhaps led to a more important discussion than it deserved. I only regret that I was not able to treat the subject so comprehensively as I thought it required, and I am therefore, I may say, to some extent glad that it has received a degree of elucidation from practical men connected with India for which I had been scarcely prepared. It is rather with their material that I have to deal than my own. But first let me refer to the doctrines that have been brought forward by my esteemed friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. I certainly cannot by any means concur with him in the views he has expressed with regard to the position of the English in India; and I think it is a very important matter in connection with this question, as with all questions in which India and England are interested, that we should ascertain the true position of the English in India. He has referred to them as conquerors, and we must never forget that that is the position in which they stand. I think it is perfectly futile, under the circumstances, to insist that the English are merely trustees for India. We have accepted no such trust. We are the conquerors of India, and that capacity can never be altogether obliterated; and we must not be treated, being the conquerors, simply as trustees. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji says that, unlike the former conquerors of India, we do not remain in the country, but drain the country of 10,000,000*l.* every year, before the country can derive any benefit from its own revenues. I protest against that manner of stating our position, because it puts before us a statement of the position and the duties of the English in India which I believe is not to be borne out by the facts. However much we ourselves may, as conquerors of India, desire to discharge the duties of our position for the welfare of the population of India, it is not a correct assumption that we are to hold India simply as trustees, for the sole benefit of the population, without deriving any benefit ourselves. I have never been able to understand, myself, why, when the English have been engaged in building up an empire in India which has been so beneficial to the people of India, they should themselves derive no benefit from it: but, looking at the history of India, I altogether deny the position of my worthy friend. I say he is not justified in any respect in drawing such inferences as he does from the relative position of the English and the former conquerors of India. He says those former rulers remained in the country, while the English are absent from it, and the English drain the country of 10,000,000*l.* every year. Has he forgotten the history of India? Has he forgotten how for several centuries various dynasties of Mussulman rulers of India drained the country year after year; how they took off large amounts of treasure and carried them abroad? Were they not foreign conquerors despoiling the country? But there is something more important to be borne in mind. If one of those conquerors in that day was able to carry off only a tribute of a million a year, did not that inflict more distress on India than this assumed abstraction of 10,000,000*l.* a year? How is it that notwithstanding this abstraction of 10,000,000*l.* a year the general revenues of the



country have greatly increased from what they were in those former periods of conquest? I unhesitatingly say, looking at the whole of the facts, that the condition of the population at the present day under English rule is infinitely superior to what it was under any former dynasty of conquerors. So far from the natives as a body being made poorer, we have every evidence from the facts brought forward in this room that the natives as a body are becoming richer. I say this with a full consideration that some of the wealthy classes have been impoverished. I say it, too, with a consideration of the fact that when some districts were transferred from native sovereigns to England the population certainly became poorer than before; but that was an exceptional state of circumstances, attributable not to the fact that the English governed the country or that the country was drained by England, but it was owing in most cases to the conduct of the natives themselves, the native subordinates of the Government, or the native usurers. Looking at the facts, we must see that there is a real and effective improvement in the condition of the population of India, and I say that is attributable to the joint action of the English and the natives in India, dependent on the fact that the English as conquerors of the country are enabled to prevent the various classes of the population from engaging in civil war and tearing the country to pieces. While, on the one hand, we must be ready to discharge our duties to the population as governors, we must not forget that we stand there in right of conquest; and the natives of India cannot justly say that we owe a debt to the population accruing at the present moment, and which is to be repaid at some future period. I say, on the contrary, the natives of India are the debtors and not the creditors of the people of England. We have had on the present occasion the benefit of the very able remarks of the honourable member for Gravesend, Sir Charles Wingfield. Anything from him has naturally great weight on a question of this kind, but I regret that I cannot agree with him in the doctrines of political economy and finance which he has brought forward on this occasion. I think our friends in India are too apt to look solely to those circumstances that arise during their Eastern experience, and that they remain so long in the East that they do not profit by the experience of the Western world. It appears to me that in consequence of their Indian residence and their Indian experience they lose the advantage of what has been taking place in the far western part of the world. I listened with great attention to every argument that Sir Charles Wingfield brought forward against the carrying out of railways in India, because that is really what it came to. He told us that everybody agreed that railways should be carried out, and then he gave us most admirable reasons from Indian finance why they should not be carried out.

SIR CHARLES WINGFIELD.—I think that is hardly a correct representation of what I said. What I said was that we should all advocate the construction of railways in India, but the question was at what rate of speed they should be constructed.

MR. CLARKE.—And you approved of the proposition of the Government that the expenditure on the railways should be adjusted with reference to the finances of India. That brings us to the position that we should expend on the public works of India, as Mr. Briggs said, 3,500,000*l.* a year. 3,500,000*l.* a year is 70,000,000 of shillings, and that constitutes 4*d.* a head on the 200,000,000 of the population for reproductive public works. I say, therefore, I am not doing injustice to the honourable gentleman when I say that the result of his arguments is that we are to do nothing as to railways in India. And I hope he will pardon me for referring to one of our friends with Western experience, who, when he got up this evening, I hoped was going to tell us something with regard to what he had seen as to railways in Canada and the United States, instead of referring to the cultivation of cotton in the Southern States. Without taking for a moment the wider field of the United States, I say what is done in Canada alone puts to shame the whole of our exertions in our Indian empire. If Canada is able to do that with a small population and a wide dominion, assuredly we could do something for the vast populations of India; but I say what the Government proposes to do comes to nothing. Under those circumstances I do feel very strongly that it is a great reflection on the Government of India that in the last two years they should have allowed those large sums to be taken away for railways in Russia, in Austria, and in Roumania and other parts of Turkey, leaving the opportunity to pass of benefiting India in perpetuity. I repeat what I said in the paper, that if that money had been applied from our market for the purpose of India it would have given a real and effectual relief to our manufacturers during the last two years, because the money would have been expended at home, while at the same time we



should have sent out large quantities of manufactured goods to India, and we should have stimulated a return trade from India itself. I say, under those circumstances, the facts to be obtained from Western experience, from the experience of the States and Canada, refute the doctrines of the honourable gentleman and the Indian statesmen who concur with him in opinion. I will not enter on this occasion into the wide question which has been raised of Government *versus* private enterprise in India, but I must say I have seen with the greatest regret from the commencement of railway operations in India the course which has been pursued by the Government. The system of guarantee has been one that has been burdensome to themselves and injurious to the public interests; they have continued the system of guarantee in such a way that they have strangled private enterprise in India. Private enterprise with regard to railways cannot be carried on efficiently because the Government have introduced the system of guarantee, which arose from their own impolitic proceedings in the beginning, and they have taken no effective mode to release themselves from the system of guarantee; and now, in consequence of the difficulties they have encountered, and the fearful waste upon railways in India, partly caused by the double system of engineering to which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has alluded, they are forced to the dangerous experiment of constructing railways themselves. I very much fear from what I see of the Public Works Department in India, that it is not in a state to carry out even the limited amount of public works which are proposed to be imposed on it. With regard to one point to which Sir Charles Wingfield has referred, as to the finances of India not being able to pay the expenses of railways or works of irrigation or anything else, I take it that the income of the railway need not necessarily be sufficient to meet the full amount of the guarantee, for I say, without hesitation, if the Government can only get back a part of its guarantee from the income of the railway, it will get back the rest from the increased revenues of the district in which the railway is made. That is the experience of even the Government of Turkey, and I am sure it is the experience of every Government that has had to deal with reproductive works properly planned. Having made these remarks, which are quite inadequate to meet all the observations of the gentlemen who have spoken this evening, I can only thank you for the attention you have given to me, and leave the matter in the hands of the Chairman, who has for so many years devoted his attention to the subject.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in explanation of his remarks about 10,000,000*l.* going out of India to this country annually, said that Mr. Hyde Clarke did not know that he (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) had over and over again at meetings of the Association acknowledged the debt that India owed to England, and that it was on England that India depended for its future regeneration. He had never considered that the English should spend their money in acquiring possessions and never get anything from them. But in considering matters of revenue, it was necessary from an economical point of view to take this element of the payment of ten millions yearly to England as the price of the benefits of British rule, into calculation. This ten millions go clean out of India, and are an addition to the wealth of this country. India must earn this much profit before it could add one farthing to its wealth.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I am afraid I am the person who is to blame for having let the discussion get so dreadfully off the rails. We should have kept to the question of transport. As I am a partizan in this matter I must not enter into this discussion. I will only mention a few facts. One is with reference to the produce of cotton in India. No doubt it is extremely low per acre, but as to the capabilities of India supplying England, the present 600,000,000 lbs. is the produce of about 10,000,000 acres. That is about a sixtieth part of the land of India, and therefore 3 or 4 per cent., even at the present low state of cultivation, would give England its full supply; and if measures were taken for improving the cultivation (and I think the first thing that should be done is to give a supply of water, but a great deal may be done in other ways), the produce per acre might be increased, and made to approach what it is in America. A word or two about transport. You know my views that railways are a complete mistake, that what India wants is water carriage, and that nothing on earth but water carriage will do. 1*d.* to 7*d.* a ton a mile is utterly destructive of the trade of India; it must be a tenth or a twentieth of a penny, or the resources of India cannot possibly be developed. The charge, 18*l.* a ton, for conveying cotton from the north-west to Calcutta is six times the freight to England. I had a letter two or three days ago, from which I gather that the whole of the carriage from the districts dependent

on the Ganges, to Calcutta may be taken to be at least 3,000,000 tons. Though the Nuddea rivers are open only four or five months of the year, they carry 1,900,000 tons; the quantity carried by the railway alongside of them is only 150,000 tons, one twentieth part of the present transit; so that nineteen-twentieths is carried as if the railway were not in existence. How can it be otherwise? What can stand the carriage of a thousand miles, at 1½d. to 8d.? What is applicable in England is not applicable in India. I do not hesitate a moment in saying that 100,000,000*l.* spent on railways in India would not produce a hundredth part of the effect that the same amount spent on steamboat canals would. That is the point we must stick to, and must bring the public to. Is land or water carriage what is wanted for India? We totally obscure the whole matter when we speak of the benefits of railways; the question is, which will give the most benefit, land or water carriage? Here you have the fact that an unimproved river with sandbanks, with floods at one time and a deficiency of water at another, a river only open four or five months of the year and shut up for the other six or seven, carries 1,900,000 tons, while the railway by the side of it carries only 150,000. If that is the case with an unimproved river, with sandbanks and hindrances, what would be the case if it were put into a good condition? It is of incalculable importance to England, and especially to Manchester, that this question should be discussed at this time. I am full of hopes that India will supply all our wants, and, of course, in proportion as India sells her goods and produce she will buy England's manufactures, so that not only is Manchester interested in it, but Birmingham, Sheffield, and every part of the country. A writer in 'The Times' the other day said that Lancashire and Yorkshire contain the intellect of England; that whatever conclusion is arrived at there, the country follows them after a certain time; therefore it was that I invited any gentleman present from Manchester to give us the view of Manchester on this question. I hope in the course of the winter we shall have this subject far more fully discussed, and have a larger attendance. As to finance accounts, what we want is that a proper financier should be put in charge of the finances of India, some one known in England, a real master of finance, to manage this 50,000,000*l.* a year. It is most important that England should take up this point, and insist that instead of the inconceivable muddle in which Indian accounts are presented to us, we should have a real, able, clear statement, satisfactory to the country. What are we to make of accounts in which necessary current expenses, and expenditure on works which are not re-productive works, such as barracks, and expenditure on works producing 50 per cent. are all jumbled together? Irrigation works in Madras are yielding 50 to 100 per cent. at this moment upon the expenditure on them. The cost of those works is put in the same list with the cost of barracks which yield no return. We want that the country should take up the matter and see these things attended to, and especially that some one whom the country knows to be a good financier should be put in charge of the finances. I move a vote of thanks to the gentleman who has favoured us with a paper on this very important subject, which I hope we shall see more fully discussed in the course of the winter.

Mr. BRIGGS seconded the vote of thanks to Mr. Hyde Clarke.

Mr DADABHAI NAOROJI moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. BRIGGS, in seconding it, referred to the fact that canals in England, notwithstanding the competition of the railways, were paying better dividends than the railways themselves.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that the highest dividend paid in England, whether on a railway or on a canal, was that of the Forth and Clyde Canal.

MEETING, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1869.

WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

A Paper, entitled "The Advantages of Encouraging the English Language to become the Colloquial Tongue of India, with a Practical System for its Development," was read by GEORGE SIMMONS, Esq., C.E., which, however, he took away with him, and has not been received, though repeated applications have been made to Mr. Simmons for it.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—I think all present—at least all my native friends—will agree with me that it is a matter of very great congratulation to find English gentlemen like Mr. Simmons, more and more, taking an interest in and bestowing labour upon subjects of practical importance affecting India. The question of education, as opened up by Mr. Simmons, is a very important one, and there are so many bearings in connection with it that it is hardly possible for me to comment on all those bearings within the time allowed me. I will, therefore, confine myself entirely to this particular point, *viz.* the practicability and advisability of making English the language of the whole nation. No doubt it is unfortunate that India has not one language and one religion. Supposing India were a country which had just risen from the ocean, and a scheme were to be formed by the English, who had discovered the country, for educating the population, perhaps nobody would hesitate to say that one language, and that the English language, would be the best to give them. But we must deal with facts as they exist. We have to deal with a country with its own ancient literature and its own languages, and to make them give up those languages and to adopt a foreign language is a task which requires very great consideration, not only with regard to its practicability, but as to its advisability. Upon the question of the advisability of making this change, perhaps there may be differences of opinion; but taking for granted for a moment that it is very advisable that the whole native population should be taught to speak English as their vernacular, let us consider whether it is practicable. The diffusion of education must depend upon our finances—we must cut our coat according to our cloth. At present all that is devoted to education altogether, including college higher and lower education, is, say 750,000*l.*, and the number of pupils now attending the schools in the whole of the British possessions in India is something like 600,000, say three-quarters of a million at the outside. The question resolves itself into this, are we to devote this 750,000*l.* to the education of say 250,000 in English, or are we to devote the 750,000*l.* to the education of three-quarters of a million of natives in their own vernacular? Are we to allow half a million to go without any education at all, and let the other quarter of a million have this English education. The three-quarters of a million represent but a small proportion of those who ought to be receiving instruction. According to a calculation made some time ago in Parliament, the number of boys and girls in India of school-going age is something like an eighth of the population. Taking the population of British India at something like 150,000,000, the number of boys and girls of school-going age would, therefore, be 18,000,000 to 20,000,000, and yet we have only about three-quarters of a million receiving education! Mr. Simmons, as I understand him, suggests something like evening schools, the teachers in which should be English men and English women (which would necessarily involve a large expenditure), to which schools the natives should go for say six months or twelve months, and learn just enough to enable them to talk English. I do not know what guarantee we could have that after they went home, having picked up a few English words, they would not speak their own vernacular instead of confining themselves to their few English words. The result would be that, as long as they spoke their vernacular at home, it would be impossible for them to make English their vernacular. In order to enable a man to make any language his vernacular, a knowledge of a few words is not enough—he must have a pretty extensive acquaintance with the language. We might teach the natives of India about 500 words, by which they would just be able to talk pigeon-English, as they do in China, where they are able to get on with 75 words. But the best course, I think, is for all friends of education to unite together to urge upon the Government to increase their efforts in extending education generally. The English language will gradually spread itself throughout the country. Every servant

in an English family, and every mechanic who works for an Englishman, picks up a certain amount of English, which he carries with him, and disseminates throughout the country; but it seems to me that it is neither practicable nor advisable to substitute evening schools, at which English only should be taught, for the vernacular education which is now being carried out by the Government. Putting aside the question of the love of the people of India for their own literature and their own traditions, connected as they are with their own language, and that it would be very difficult to make them give up that language; taking for granted that the introduction of English throughout the whole nation would be a very great boon; admitting that theoretically it would be an advantage to introduce the English language generally in India, the great question is its practicability. If you are satisfied with the education in English of only a few scholars, of course that is practicable; but it would be impracticable to introduce English throughout India in the manner proposed by Mr. Simmons. If the great necessity is to remove the general ignorance as much as possible, and to make the people understand that the English rule is a benefit to them, we ought first to direct all our efforts to clearing the jungle, directing our energies afterwards to the sowing of the seed and producing the fruit. The English being a foreign people in India, a loyalty has to be created, and consequently no efforts should be spared to give them education, and as that education can be given more feasily in their own language, every effort should be made to extend education as much as possible in the vernacular also.

KAZI SHAHAUDIN said that the idea of making English the general language of the people of India was not altogether a new one. It had been put forward with considerable ability in 1832 or 1833, and with such effect that the Government of India of that day were induced to issue an order directing that all the money which the State expended in those days on education should be applied to education in English; but such an outcry was raised against the order by the Press, and by the natives, who petitioned against it in great numbers, that the Government were obliged to rescind it. Those again who had had to do with the Government of India had from time to time maturely considered the question, availing themselves of the experience of those who had passed the best part of their lives in India, but nobody had yet been able to convince the Government of either the practicability or the desirability of making English the colloquial language of the people of India. All those who had been connected with the Educational department, particularly since the movement of 1854, had admitted the absolute necessity of cultivating the vernacular as the primary medium of instruction. Mr. Simmons had spoken rather disparagingly of the Indian language in comparison with English; but, without pretending to possess a sufficient knowledge of English to be able to speak confidently upon the point, he thought the Mahattees, for instance, with the vast store of Sanscrit to back it, and the Hindustanee, with Persian and Arabic to fall back on for scientific terms, were languages not at all inferior to English. It was said that Englishmen going out to India found it difficult to transact business with the people of India owing to the variety of languages; but it was to be remembered that India was not a small country like Ireland—it was a continent. As he understood it, it was proposed by Mr. Simmons to introduce English and to suppress the vernacular.

Mr. SIMMONS stated that that was not his proposition.

Mr. SHAHAUDIN proceeded to say, that if that was not Mr. Simmons' proposition, what he proposed practically amounted to adding a few more institutions to the existing educational establishments, where English only should be taught, the vernacular not being used as the stepping-stone of education, English being the primary medium of instruction. At present those who aspired to rise above the level of their fellow-natives, and who wished to acquire a knowledge of the English language, found no difficulty in going to English schools; but any attempt to introduce such schools for the labouring classes must, in his opinion, fail. As Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had observed, if the object was to make English the vernacular of the natives of India, their education in English must not be superficial, but pretty extensive, otherwise their vernacular would be something like the vernacular of some of the people at Bombay, which is a compound of English and their own languages. He was convinced that very great difficulty would be found by English masters in teaching the natives English without the medium of the vernacular. Any attempt to introduce English as the vernacular generally throughout India would be looked upon with distrust by the natives, for they would regard it

as a prelude to the introduction of Christianity. Though perhaps the Government were not doing what they ought to do, still the knowledge of the English language was becoming more extended every day. The natives had every inducement to learn English, seeing that no good appointments were obtainable without a knowledge of English. He thought that those inducements ought to be allowed to produce their effect without any such attempts to introduce English among the natives as were proposed by Mr. Simmons, which attempts were sure to fail. What was necessary was that the Government should extend the education at present given to the natives in their own language, giving them afterwards, if they pleased, instruction in English.

MR. FITZWILLIAM, while endorsing everything which had been said by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Shahabudin, with regard to the impracticability of Mr. Simmons' scheme, felt—as no doubt every native of India who had heard his paper felt—deeply indebted to him for endeavouring to do everything he could to promote the education of the people of India. With respect to the great progress the English language had made in America, which had been used as an illustration by Mr. Simmons, the case of America was no parallel case to that of India. When our first colonists settled in America, they found merely a few scattered tribes speaking another language, and as the country became gradually peopled by English-speaking people, English became the language of the country, merely by descending from father to son, whereas in India you had to deal with about 200,000,000 people speaking their own languages.

CHAIRMAN.—If no other gentleman wishes to make any observations, I will offer a few remarks on the subject. I first wish to congratulate the Association on the fact that we have been addressed this evening by a Mahometan gentleman—it is a matter of regret that so very few Mahometans have joined the Association—but I hope that the gentleman who has addressed us so ably on behalf of the vernacular languages, is the precursor of many others who will hereafter join the Society. With regard to the subject which has been brought before us in so very able and interesting a manner by Mr. Simmons, I think we must all be glad that it has been brought up for discussion. Discussion elicits facts, dissipates errors, and establishes truth; but I must confess that I feel, as far as the proposition itself is concerned, that it is utterly impracticable. I do not believe that history presents us with a single instance where an alien nation has ever succeeded, under the most advantageous circumstances, in obliterating, or even setting aside, the vernacular language of a great people. Of course, in the few minutes we are allowed to speak, it would be absurd for me to enter upon the great fundamental question of the philosophy of language; still if anybody has ever given his attention to that subject, he must have seen how indissolubly the genius of a language is connected with the genius of the people who speak that language. Even the very turn of phrases, in every language under the sun, and more especially Eastern languages, is inseparably connected with traditions, religious feelings, social customs, and everything that a nation holds dear to itself; I think, therefore, the philosophy of the question is totally opposed to the idea of a few English scattered about India as we are, attempting to obliterate the language of millions of people, more especially when it is sought to be done with the view to introduce a foreign language for colloquial use, for of all parts of a language the colloquial department is the most difficult. There are hundreds and thousands of native gentlemen who understand English, who can write essays, and carry on an intellectual discussion, but who break down in colloquial conversation; and that alone is sufficient to teach us that the colloquial department of a language, instead of being at the threshold, lies at the very farthest extremity of perfection in language. Therefore, as it seems to me, it is Utopian, not to say absurd (I do not say it offensively to Mr. Simmons), to attempt to teach the masses of the people the rudiments of the sciences or the arts, or education generally, through a language which is foreign to them. They must first devote a certain number of years (how many it is impossible to say) to the acquirement of the foreign language, before they can approach the threshold of science at all. Passing over that great and most interesting subject, the philosophy of language, let me point your attention to historical analogy. I will select only two instances, one the case of the Norman conquerors in England, and the other the case of the Mahometan conquerors in India. William of Normandy, with all the power and energy of a conqueror, introducing new customs, new courts, and new elements of supremacy, and with undoubtedly the desire as it were to swallow up the Saxon language, was utterly unable to do so. He introduced into the Saxon language many

very valuable phrases and words, but what were they? Almost all of them were terms connected with the luxury of the court or with the requirements of art, or law terms. As has been remarked by one of our greatest philologists, the Conqueror gave us "beef" and "mutton," but could not take away our "ox" or "sheep." "Thunder," "lightning," the days of the week, the months, the partitions of the field, and the appendages of the cottage, all remain Saxon to this day. That was the case in our own country; what was the case with the Mahometans? The Mahometans came into India convinced of their divine mission—they came with a new religion, with a higher civilization, and with great power, and their desire, and their attempt, was to swallow up and destroy the vernacular language of the country. Have they succeeded? As the Normans did in England, they introduced certain expressions and phrases, many of them expressions connected with the court, and they did more—they created a language, the Hindustani, the Oordu or camp language of the Mahometan invaders; but have they destroyed the Hindi, the Bengali, the Guzerathi, or the Uriya? The traditions, the religion, the customs and feelings of the people, are all bound up with the language of their country, handed down to them for two thousand years or more, from a time when we were painted savages. To get rid of a language like that is the task which Mr. Simmons, as I understand him, has proposed to the English nation, which has already fallen far short of its duties in the instruction of the people in the fundamental rudiments of knowledge. That leads us to the practicability of what Mr. Simmons proposes. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has forestalled me in pointing out that, as far as the economical question is concerned, the proposition is simply ludicrous. We could not under the present grants of the Government send out a number of English men and English women to give the natives instruction in English. Having myself taken a great interest for many years in the education of the masses in India, I can speak from actual knowledge of the difficulty the Government experiences at times, in spite of the aid of Inspectors, Deputy-Inspectors, and, I am sorry to say, occasionally Police Officers, in whipping up boys to come to the vernacular schools. What is the reason? Because the father and mother cannot spare the little boy from household duties to learn something which may or may not be of advantage to him hereafter, but of which they cannot see the benefit. Therefore, this proposal to give instruction to the natives in English, in the manner pointed out by Mr. Simmons is Utopian; it is impossible as far as finances are concerned, it is impracticable as far as the feelings of the nation are concerned, and the very whisper of such a thing would arouse a bad feeling of distrust and disaffection throughout the whole of India—of that I am perfectly convinced. We have been already distrusted, because in an honest and open endeavour to enlighten the people we have always been suspected of undermining their religion. That has been a most false charge against the English, but it has arisen from this, that our educational books contain statements of scientific facts which have the effect of loosening their hold on their religion. That is not our fault, but the effect of scientific knowledge (and we all of us, as Englishmen and as enlightened men, are rather pleased than otherwise at such a result, so far as those religions are founded on fable or error). But what would be the consequence if, throughout India, instead of further extending the present system of vernacular education, by which we have imperfectly attempted to raise the mass of the people at least somewhat higher than the ground on which they now stand, instead of extending this system which appeals to the hearts and feelings of the people, it were said to every poor man, woman, and child, "Before we treat you to the privileges and luxuries of knowledge, you must learn to speak colloquial English," English being the most difficult language in the world to speak colloquially? The effect would be to create strong feelings of dissatisfaction with our rule. Mr. Simmons mentioned one curious circumstance, that in the Indian army it has been thought advisable to maintain the English words of command, and he gives that as a sort of indication that the natives are rather fond of those English words. The only words I have heard used by the Sepoys have been "Hookemdar" (who comes there), and the answer "Fring" (a friend). That, considering we have had a native army for half a century, with every opportunity under English commanders of learning the English colloquial language, gives a sort of idea of what kind of a *patois* it would be that the poor little rhyots' sons and daughters would amuse us with.

MR. MOULE suggested that some slight injustice had been done by the previous speakers to the paper which had been read, for he did not gather from Mr. Simmons' paper that he proposed to perform so impossible and preposterous a task as to obliterate existing languages. Looking at the historical fact that a single language, the Latin,

spread, and was adopted as a *lingua franca* over an area resembling that of India, viz. the Western Empire of Rome, he saw no reason to doubt that in India English might be as widely adopted as a *lingua franca* within a short time, as Latin was along the shores of the Mediterranean.

Mr. FITZWILLIAM reminded Mr. Moule of the fact that, though Latin was adopted as the language of the countries to which he referred, it was now a dead language.

Mr. MOULE replied that it continued to be the language of the countries, subject to the power of Rome, until that power passed away. If, after having established English as the language of India, our supremacy in that country passed away from us, no doubt English would cease to be adopted as the language of the country, but there would then be no longer any advantage to be derived from its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN explained that all his remarks had been directed to the expression "colloquial," as used by Mr. Simmons. He (the Chairman) and no doubt every one else in the room, would most loudly applaud any scheme whatever for giving a good English education to those having the means, or the leisure, or the love of knowledge to urge them to the acquirement of it; but if it was proposed to establish English as the colloquial language, the native language must be obliterated, for you could not have two colloquial languages.

Mr. SIMMONS insisted that you could.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI remarked that English was gradually forcing its way as the medium of communication between natives of India engaged in commerce, it being adopted as the means of communication—not only between two persons speaking different languages, but between two persons speaking the same language; but, in his opinion, to stop instruction in the vernacular in order that the funds devoted to educational purposes should be devoted to schools in which English only was taught, would be a most unwise proceeding.

Mr. MOULE asked Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji if he assumed that the natural progress of events was enough to trust to without further aid?

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI replied that he had always urged that we wanted further aid. He would be very glad if, instead of the 100,000 now instructed in English schools, there were 1,000,000 boys receiving instruction in English schools; but the question was whether the Government, with the means at their command, should devote them to instruction in English only, or to instruction in the vernacular, and also in English in a fair proportion; whether they should not give some instruction to the people, instead of allowing them to grow up in utter ignorance, with all their old and new prejudices against the foreigner.

Mr. SHAHABUDIN thought that the only question was the practicability of the plan proposed by Mr. Simmons. It would, in his opinion, drive all the boys from the schools, and would defeat its own object.

Mr. MOULE differed from the Chairman in believing that it was quite possible to have two colloquial languages, i.e. two vehicles for conveying colloquial expressions; such was the case in Ireland, and in the nations of Western Europe Latin was used, not as a learned language, but as a colloquial language.

Mr. SIMMONS.—I think some of the speakers have a little misunderstood me in reference to what I propose with regard to the vernacular languages. All I propose is, not that the native languages should be obliterated, but that they should be let alone to die out, or to take their own course. The proposition I make is this: as you are teaching English to many parties who now can afford to learn English for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of science, so I propose, by means of pictorial representation, to enable those parties to learn it as a colloquial language. We know, in our own country, there are very few words used by the English labourer—those few words I would teach to the natives, and thus endeavour to make the English language the colloquial language of India, instead of so many as a hundred different languages, as there are at present. I do not propose to obliterate, I do not propose to use any means for doing away; but I propose to say to the native, "Come to me, and I will do my best with you in instructing you in English, in order that you and I may converse together freely, and in as friendly a way as we possibly can in that language." I wish to take advantage of the desire shown by many parties in India to obtain a knowledge of English, and I say, "Very well, your desire is to learn English, learn it by these means; there are a great many advantages that you can receive by learning the English language. You wish to learn the language, here is an easy method of so doing." I should say to the natives, adults as well as children, for I



would not confine this instruction by means of pictorial representation to children, "Here is free tuition in English if you wish to receive it. I do not put a pressure on you—that was the fault of the olden time—but I ask you to look at the advantages of acquiring a knowledge of English. If you are desirous of learning, I am ready to teach you, and here is the method I propose to you, in order to enable you to gain what you want."

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Simmons for the paper he had read, observed that Mr. Simmons' remarks in reply differed somewhat from the apparent purpose of the paper. If his only object was to assist, by pictorial representation, the education in English of those already receiving that instruction, he (the Chairman) had made there marks which he had addressed to the meeting under a total misconception of the purpose of the paper. He thought no one present would deny that it was extremely important and desirable to aid in the dissemination of English throughout India; but with regard to making it the colloquial language, he thought it was so completely *in nubibus*, that it might be left to the course of events and the advancement of public opinion.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in seconding the motion, observed that Mr. Simmons, when he said in his reply that he would let the vernacular alone, and only direct his attention to English, was quite consistent with what he had said in his paper, but that was just where he (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) differed from him. He understood Mr. Simmons to propose that there should be no vernacular schools.

Mr. SIMMONS explained that what he meant was that it would be open to those gentlemen who wished to extend education in their vernacular to do so, but he proposed that the Government should use all its exertions in extending the English language.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI observed that he differed from Mr. Simmons in his view that the Government ought not to spend money on teaching in the vernacular; but however much he differed from Mr. Simmons he thanked him most sincerely, as he was sure all his native friends did, for his paper.

On the motion of Mr. Fitzwilliam, seconded by Mr. Wadya, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

MEETING, FRIDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 26, 1863.

W. TAYLER, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Paper was read by R. H. ELLIOT, Esq. :—

*On the Beneficial Effects of Caste Institutions.*

MYSELF AND MY NATIVE NEIGHBOURS.

In the year 1855 I sailed for India with a trifling capital, and with that firm belief in my own capabilities which is common to youth, and which one looks back upon in after-life with mingled feelings of wonder and amusement. With my capital and belief I landed at Bombay, and a week later embarked for Mangalore in a salt-laden native craft (Patama), the use of which I hired for the sum of 35 florins. We sailed down the palm-fringed coast with such an Eastern indifference to time, that it took me nine days to reach my destination. The geographical position of the obscure port of Mangalore may be most easily realized by running an imaginary line from Aden to the nearest point of the western shores of India. On nearing the coast and looking to the eastward you will see a range of lofty mountains running parallel to the seaboard, and at a distance of about 60 miles inland.

They are, as it were, the mighty buttresses on which rest the table-land of Mysore, which has an average height of 3000 feet above the level of the sea. This rugged and fantastic chain of hills, now receding into deep bays and again advancing boldly like promontories into the sea, is called the Western Ghauts, and forms the boundary between the plains of the Mysore table-land and the lowlands, which stretch from the foot of the hills to the sea. But we have to get from Mangalore to Munzerabad. Leaving, then, the Arabian Sea behind us, and turning our faces to the east, let us take the road which enters the Mysore province by the pass of Munzerabad. Up to

the foot of the mountain Nature has thrown few obstacles in the way; but as we near those dark defiles which are black with jungle and swarming with elephants and bison, further progress seems impossible. The ingenuity of our engineers, and easily it appears to us, has, however, overcome all the difficulties of the route. The road winds, and twists and turns, now backwards, now forwards, sometimes steep, at other times easy, but always tending upwards. We toil up an ascent of some 3500 feet, and at last, to east, north, and south, we see the land old Hyder ruled over, and which he often predicted his half-mad son would assuredly lose. The western frontier shows little of the signs of warfare; but, towards the termination of the pass, the Star Fort of Mingerabad and the grave of the only English officer killed at the siege reminds us of the struggle which terminated with the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippo. And some miles to the south-east the jungle of Arekerry is pointed out as the spot where Arthur Wellesley quelled the last shadow of resistance to British sway.

The Talook, or county of Munzerabad, which forms part of the western frontier of the Mysore state, runs north and south about 50 miles, and has an average breadth of about 20. It is bounded on the south by Coorg, on the north by the Muggur Division of Mysore, on the west by Canara, and on the east by the talooks of the Mysore State.

When I entered Munzerabad in 1855 there was only one coffee planter in the talook. To him I had a letter of introduction, and he soon put me in the way of procuring forest land fit for coffee. After some delay I succeeded in locating myself about 12 miles from his house, and thus commenced, and for long continued, my intercourse with my native neighbours.

The people amongst whom I lived may be divided roughly into four classes—

1. The Lingaets, or worshippers of Siva.
2. The Gowdahs, or Wokkul Muckelloo.
3. The Todyman caste.
4. The Coolies, or labourers.

The first two may be called cultivating proprietors, and the occupations of the others are sufficiently indicated by their names. The remainder of the population consists of potters, carpenters, and silversmiths, and the small number of Brahmin priests who are necessary to officiate at the only temple of note, and to solemnize the marriages of the middle and upper classes. As to race, the whole population may be divided into Dravidians and those of distinctly aboriginal extraction. The last are represented by the coolies of the country, the first by the castes I have already specified. Amongst the society I have thus briefly described I spent many years of the closest intimacy. I have lived with the people, not to convert them, or to tax them, or to judge them, but simply as a neighbour, from whom they had little to hope, and certainly nothing to fear. I have slept in their houses, obliged them in little matters, and been obliged in return. I have bought and sold with them—lent and borrowed with them—shot with them as fellow-sportsmen—quarrelled with them—visited them when sick and dying—and attended their marriage-feasts and funerals. As a holder of rice lands and palm trees I have dealt with them as tenants. I have settled their disputes, and called them in to arbitrate between me and their own people; and every evening my tea-ground around my house was the common lounge of farmers from the adjacent villages. Some came to hear the news—some for medicine for sick members of their families—others to play quoits, and to talk over plans for our next shooting expedition. Having thus briefly glanced at the nature of my intercourse with the people, I shall now proceed to the conclusions my experience has led me to adopt regarding the remarkable institution which forms the subject of the present paper.

In Kiehl's fable of the "Peasant and the Horse," the latter murmurs at the way his master throws oats broadcast on the soil. How much better, argues the horse, it would have been to have kept them in his granary, or even to have given them me to eat. But the oats grow and are garnered, and from them the same horse is fed the year following. The animal was unable to comprehend the wisdom of his master's acts, and in the same way we often see that man in his turn fails often to comprehend the nature and effects of things around him. And thus it is with the institution I am now about to consider. People, taking an outside sceptical view, have ignorantly murmured at the institution of caste, looking at it through highly-civilized spectacles, that have seen some of the inconveniences it has caused to the educated populations of the towns, and hence they have argued that the institution is the curse of all India. But it seems to me that an attentive and unprejudiced examination tends to prove that in former times it was exactly the reverse, and that at the present moment, as far as all the

ignorant rural population is concerned, it may be considered, with reference to the state of her people, as a valuable and useful institution.

And here, at the onset, I wish it to be clearly understood that an immense divergence has taken place between the town and country populations. The former have advanced with rapid strides on the paths of enlightenment and progress, and the latter, it is hardly too much to say, have remained almost universally stationary. To argue, therefore, from one to the other is not only impossible but absurd; and it seems merely a waste of time to point out that what may be admirably suited to one set of people may be a positive nuisance to another. With reference, then, to this question of caste, instead of treating India as a whole I shall divide it into town and country populations. In the first place I shall treat of the effects of caste on the country populations amongst whom I have lived, and in the second place I shall offer some considerations regarding the effect of the institution amongst the people of the towns; and first of all as to rural population:—

In these observations on caste I shall not commence with any attempt to trace its origin, nor shall I endeavour to enumerate the countless forms it has assumed amongst the peoples of the great peninsula. My aim is to direct the attention of the reader not to the dry bones of its history, but to the living effects of the institution. It is certainly a matter of interest to know something of the peculiar customs of the various tribes and races, but it is to be regretted that people generally have rested content with information of that sort, and have seldom attempted to investigate those points which are, I conceive, mainly of use and interest. What Indians may or may not do—what they may eat, what they may drink, and what clothing they may put on—are not matters on which inquirers should bestow much time. The information most needed, and which has not yet, or only in the most imperfect sense, been acquired, is as to what caste has done for good or evil. It shall be my endeavour to solve that question; and I imagine the solution would be in a great measure effected if I could, in the first instance, answer satisfactorily the following questions:—

1. How far has caste acted as a moral restraint amongst the Indians themselves?
2. How far has it acted advantageously or the reverse in segregating them socially from the conquerors who have overrun their country?

On the first of these points I may observe, without the slightest exaggeration, that very few of our countrymen indeed have had such opportunities of forming a correct estimate, for very few Englishmen have ever been so entirely dependent on a native population for society. For the first four or five years of my residence there were only three Europeans beside myself, and we were all about twelve miles apart. The natural consequence was, that the better classes were my sole companions; and as I joined in their sports, and had some of them always about me, terms of intimacy sprang up which never could have existed under any other circumstances. And further, when you come to consider that I have employed on my estate the poorer of the better classes in various capacities, and a large number of the aborigines or labourer class, it seems pretty clear that I at least ought to be a tolerably competent judge as to whether caste did or did not exercise a favourable influence on the morals of the people. As regards one department of morals I unhesitatingly affirm that they had, and that as regards the connection of the sexes it would be difficult to find anywhere in the world a more moral people than the two highest castes in Munzerabad, whether with reference to the women of the labourer class or amongst themselves. The Pariah women perform various menial offices about the farmers' houses, and generally help to carry out the working of the native farms. Now, so strongly are these women protected by caste law, that I never heard of but one instance of one of the better classes living with a Pariah woman. Some aversion of race there may no doubt be, but the police of caste and its penalties are so strong that he would be a bold man indeed who would venture to run any risk of detection. Now to many of you this may not appear a very important matter, nor for a long time did it occur to me as such, till it was suggested to me by one of my sub-managers in India, who himself was sprung from the labourer class in my own county in Scotland. One of the first things that struck him in India was the advantage of their powerful police, and he then drew a comparison, which anyone acquainted with the morals of the bondagers (women who work on farms) in our border counties can only too readily verify. On this point, then, there can be no doubt whatever as to the value of caste as protecting the poor from the passions of the better classes.

But I have alleged that the better classes have better morals amongst themselves

than the labourers have, and it may not be out of place if I point to some facts which seem to justify that assertion. Ever since I started my estates I have been in the habit of promoting marriages amongst my people. To explain. A man comes to me for money to get a wife with. I advance the sum, and take an agreement from the individual that he and his wife shall reside and work on the estate until they find it convenient to repay the debt; and in this way I have advanced money to the coolies, and the poorer of the better castes, who will work on estates if they are well treated. Cases of adultery, therefore, naturally were referred to me, in order that the marriage expenses should be recovered from the co-respondent. The cases of adultery amongst the Pariahs were common, whilst amongst the better classes I never heard of even a suspected one: and these facts taken alone might not seem very decisive, but as a confirmation of my general experience they are, I apprehend, of some value.

Having thus briefly glanced at caste as controlling the connection of the sexes, let us now look at it from another point, which I venture to think is, as regards its ultimate consequence, of even still more importance. If there is one vice more than another which is productive of serious crime, it is the abuse of alcohol. We know too well what a dreadful curse that is in this country, and what a number of evils may be distinctly traced to it. Regarding it, then, with all its consequences, whether physical or mental, it is difficult to estimate too highly the value of those caste laws which utterly prohibit the use of those strong drinks which, injurious in any country, are a hundred times more so under the rays of a tropical sun. But it would be tedious to enlarge on a point regarding which we have such ample evidence, and I need only say that about a third of the people of Munzerabad use no alcohol, and those of the two second castes, being no doubt considerably influenced by the opinions of the abstainers, but very rarely drink to excess. As for the Pariahs, I need hardly say that they are addicted to alcohol in whatever shape they can procure it.

On two very important points, then—the connection of the sexes and the use of alcohol, it is evident that caste laws have produced some very favourable results, but I do not think we can accurately gauge their value unless we compare them with the state of things existing in one of our home counties; and the comparison I have to make may not be very soothing, but I am sure it is very interesting. Take any one of our border counties, for instance, and compare it with Munzerabad as regards these moral points I have referred to, and it will be found that Munzerabad has an immense superiority. This may seem a bold assertion, and I think it therefore expedient to lay before you the opportunities I had for forming my opinions on this subject, and on many other points where the institution of comparison was useful. I myself am from a border county, and am of the proprietor caste. My head manager, whose experience had been derived from my own county and the adjoining one, was of the tenant-farmer caste; and my third manager, also from the same county as myself, was derived from the labourer caste, or, to be quite correct, from that useful class of it which forms our farm stewards. I had, therefore, before me experience of every class in an English county to compare with extensive experience of all classes in an Indian one, and I need hardly waste words in further explaining the nature of the opportunities I had in forming fair and just estimates of native habits and customs as compared with English ones. To return, then, from this digression, I may repeat my assertion as to the moral superiority of Munzerabad, as regards the points hitherto mentioned.

You will here observe that in stating the comparison, I draw no inferences, nor do I attempt to assign reasons, they would take up too much time, and I merely offer the facts for your consideration.

Before closing this branch of my subject I may allude briefly to what has been so often attacked by the opponents of caste—I mean the prohibition of the marriage of widows. This custom exists in Munzerabad, but I am not aware that any great moral evil arises from it, as the widow can always contract to live with a man—the only difference being that the ceremonies performed are of an inferior kind. On customs like these, which, in a great measure neutralize the evils arising from the restrictions on re-marriage, it seems to me that our information is very scanty, and I am not aware how far the practice alluded to prevails in other parts of India. But I must hasten on as rapidly as possible to the consideration of our second point.

How far has caste acted beneficially, or the reverse, in separating the Hindoos socially from the conquerors who have overrun their country?

If the advantages of caste are striking and apparent as regards the moral points

I have alluded to, they seem to me infinitely more so when we come to consider the happy influence the institution has had in separating the natives from the white races. And here I cannot help indulging in a vain regret that the blessings of caste had not been universally diffused amongst all inferior races. How many of these have our boasted civilization improved off the face of the earth? How much has that tide of civilization, which the first tide of conquerors invariably brings with them, effected? How much, in other words, has their vice, rum, and gunpowder helped to exterminate these unhappy races which, unprotected by caste, have come in contact with the white man. Nor in India itself are we altogether without a very well-marked instance of the value of separation from foreigners. The Todar, the lads of the soil on the Nielgherry Hills, furnishes us with a lamentable account of what the absence of caste feeling is capable of producing. We found them a simple pastoral race, and the early visitors to the hills were struck with their inoffensive manner, and what was falsely considered to be their greatest advantage—freedom from caste association. What is their condition now? One of drunkenness, debauchery, and disease of the most fatal description. Had the much repelled caste-law been theirs, what a different result would contact with Europeans have brought! Caste, would have saved them from alcohol, and their women from contamination—they would thus have maintained their self-respect; and if at first separation brought with it no progress or shadow of change, it would at least have induced no evil, and education and enlightenment would, in time, have modified these caste institutions which, to a superficial observer, seem to be productive of nothing but evil.

We have seen, now, that social contact with whites, without any barrier between them and the inferior races, is not, in a moral point of view, a very desirable thing in any part of the world. But if this is a moral consequence, we may also point to a mental one which exercises an immense influence. I mean the overwhelming sense of inferiority which is so apt to depress casteless races. I believe, then, that for savages or for people in a low state of civilization it is of the greatest importance that they should have points of difference which may not only keep them socially apart, but which may enable them to maintain some feeling of superiority when coming in contact with highly civilized races. Nor is it necessary that the feeling of superiority should be well founded. An imaginary superiority will, I believe, answer the purpose equally well. We don't cut beef, nor would we touch food cooked by Pariahs, seem but poor matters for self-congratulation. But if these motives prevent a man from forming a poor opinion of himself, they should be carefully cherished. On these points at least a feeling of superiority is sustained, and, therefore, the tendency to degradation is diminished. But if on all points the white man makes his superiority felt, the weaker people speedily acquire a thorough contempt for themselves, and soon become careless of what they do, or of what becomes of them. The mutual spring becomes fatally depressed, and this circumstance has probably more to do with the deterioration of inferior races than most people would be inclined to admit. Nothing there, I believe, chills the soul and checks the progress of man so much as a hopeless sense of inferiority; and had I time I might turn your attention to the universality of this law, and to the numerous instances that have been collected to prove the depressing and injurious effect, whatever nature, on a grand and overwhelming scale, seems to exercise on the mind of man, how it makes him timid, credulous, and superstitious, and produces effects which retard his progress. But to advance further on this point, however interesting it may be, would only tend to distract our attention from the subject of this paper. If the remarks hitherto made are of any value they undoubtedly prove that all inferior races have a tendency, in the first instance, to adopt the vices rather than the virtues of the civilized races they come in contact with. Assuming, then, as I think we have every right to do, that that statement is universally true, it is evident that the social separation maintained by caste has been of incalculable advantage. On the other hand, a number of disadvantages have been indicated by various writers. But only one of these alleged evils seems to me at all worthy of notice. It has been asserted that this separation has impeded advancement, that it has prevented the natives learning as much from us as they otherwise might have, and that it has impeded the mainspring of all advancement—education. Here, I apprehend, the argument against caste, as far as the counties' populations are concerned, utterly fails, and in a province contiguous to my own a most signal contradiction can be pointed to. Few people have more proudly separated themselves than the Coorgs. Amongst

none is the chastity of their women more jealously guarded, and yet they were the first people in India who desired and petitioned for female education. And how, then, can it be for one moment asserted that the tendency of caste is to check the progress of the people.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the effects of caste on the town population, in the same order and on the same points that we have selected for consideration when treating of the rural classes :—

How far then has caste operated with them as a moral restraint, either as regards the connection of the sexes, or the use of alcohol? This question may be very briefly answered by saying that caste in towns, as regards these points, must almost wholly be ineffective, as the possibility of enforcing them does not exist. Nor need I waste time in proving that people in towns may do with impunity things which very soon become notorious in the country.

Then as regards that segregation from foreigners—that may be dismissed with equal brevity, for such of the town population as have maintained a fair state of morality amid the evils of large cities, are not likely to be materially affected by the bad habits and customs of the white races, and as for those who have never led a steady life it would not much matter with whom they mixed. But caste not only brings with it no good as far as the town population is concerned, but is fraught with a number of painful and vexatious evils which are so notorious that I will not take up your time by enumerating them. I shall, therefore, bring this branch of my subject to an abrupt close, and consider it as a settled question that, as far as the people of the towns are concerned, the sooner that caste is abolished the better.

In retracing the ground we have gone over, I may remind you that we have considered the effects of caste as regards the country populations in two very important particulars—first of all as to their morality, which is regulated by caste; and secondly, as regards the effect the institution has had in aiding to resist the bad habits and customs which would otherwise have been acquired by coming in contact with white races. As regards the use of alcohol, and the connection of the sexes—we have compared the morality of a county in India with the morality of a county in Scotland, and we have found the comparison tell in favour of the Indians. And by facts which may be brought from many quarters of the globe we have seen that, it is a universal law that inferior races have a tendency to adopt the vices rather than the virtues of superior races, and that, therefore, caste-laws which enjoin social separation are of the highest value. We have seen the value of caste in keeping up feelings of self-respect and superiority. We have seen that these caste-laws can exist without retarding the progress of the people, or their desire for education. And finally, taking all these points into consideration, we concluded that there were no drawbacks, and many striking advantages connected with caste as far as the country populations are concerned.

In the second place we looked at the town populations, and came to the conclusion that caste is an unmitigated evil.

Keeping these points plainly in mind let us now advance to the consideration of the third question which naturally rises out of these conclusions which I assume to have been established :—

That question is, How far has caste acted beneficially or the reverse in helping to retard the adoption of Christianity? Pursuing the same order as before, let us ask, in the first place, whether caste has, as regards the country population, acted beneficially on this point as well as in the others we have looked at. But before attempting to answer the question, it may be as well to offer a few general remarks which tend to show that, independent of any question of caste, it is hopeless to expect that any ignorant and generally unenlightened race can possibly derive any benefit from adopting the formula of a pure faith.

To illustrate this well established truth let us point to three of the many instances which may be adduced as decisively confirming it. The history of Christianity in Europe—of Islam amongst the Indian Mahomedans, and that of our native Christians in India. As to the first, to use the words of Buekle, "After the new religion had received the homage of the best part of Europe it was found that nothing had really been effected." Superstition was merely turned from one channel into another. The adoration of idols was succeeded by the adoration of saints, and for centuries after Christianity was the established religion it entirely failed to produce its natural fruits because ignorance imperatively demanded superstition in some shape or other.

To some it may seem curious; the same remarks may be applied to the history of Mahomedanism in India. But how long was it before the people, like the Israelites of old, fell away from the grand doctrine of the unity of God? How long was it before the adoration of idols was followed by the adoration of saints? The exact coincidence, however, is no more striking than that given causes produce fixed results with an Eastern as well as with a Western people.

Look, thirdly, at our native Christians in India. Their character is notorious, and the general experience of the European points to them as the worst class in India. My own opinion certainly tends in the same direction. But I prefer to take safer ground, and shall, therefore, confine myself to asserting that they are neither better nor worse than the classes from whom they are principally drawn. Sprung from the lowest classes, they have maintained the habits and customs of the lowest, uninfluenced and unaltered by what, in the absence of enlightenment, is necessarily nothing but a change of name.

These considerations alone must always have immense weight against the idea of attempting to effect a radical cure by the treatment of symptoms. But by this cure not only would you not change the Indians by changing their religious formulas, but you would inflict on them an incalculable injury, by depriving them of restraints which as we have seen are in some particulars of immense importance. To become a Christian the first thing required of a man is that he should give up caste, and deliver himself up to the uncontrolled guidance of his conscience—that he should give up a powerful and effective moral restraint—that he should abandon a position which carries with it feelings of self-respect and superiority, and resign himself to the degrading reflection that he may eat from the same platter and drink from the same vessel as the filthiest Pariah. And that this would be degrading there can be little doubt. Were he an educated and enlightened man, he would be sustained by feelings and thoughts which would rise above such considerations. But in the absence of enlightenment sad would be his fate, and melancholy the deterioration that would inevitably ensue. The way in which that deterioration would take place has been sufficiently indicated in the first pages of this paper, and to give in detail the principal reasons against a change of faith would only be to repeat what I have already said. Not only then, I repeat, would a change of dogma be as unimproving and superficial as changes of that sort always are in an unenlightened age, but a number of positive evils would follow from the necessary abandonment of the restrictions of caste; and we may, therefore, conclude that, as regards the country population, the effects of caste in helping to prevent the adoption of a spurious Christianity, is of incalculable advantage.

When we turn to the town populations the case is widely different. We have seen that for them the practical advantages of caste can hardly be said to exist, and therefore a change of religion which invoked its abolition would, as regards any part of society, at least produce no evil. Here, at least, we are on safe ground. But this is not all. We see that with the better classes education and enlightenment have borne their natural fruit, and demanded a pure faith, which has already sprung up in the shape of Deism. Enlightenment, then, will produce a pure faith which will, in time, react on society, and push it forward with accelerated speed. Now, it cannot be denied that caste does retard the adoption of a pure faith; and, if we assume that a pure faith will in turn become a cause or even an accelerator of progress, then it is certain that, as regards the people of the towns, caste, as resisting a change of religion, is an undoubted calamity.

We have now looked at the bearings of caste on three very important points—its moral bearing amongst the Indians themselves; its effects in maintaining a social separation between the European and Asiatic races; and its effects in retarding the adoption of a new religion. In the first place we looked at the people of the country, and came to the conclusion that on all these points caste operates advantageously. In the second place we looked at the people of the towns, and came to the conclusion that caste confers on them no advantages, and produces many evils.

Let us now point to the causes of the general ignorant abuse of caste institutions, and at the same time suggest the line of conduct that the people of the towns ought to adopt with reference to this question.

And here I need not occupy much time in indicating the causes of that abuse of caste which has always been so popular with my countrymen. In fact, these causes are so apparent that, if we admit the truth of the facts and arguments hitherto



adduced, you must already have anticipated the solution I have to give. Caste, as we have seen, is a serious evil to the people of the towns. Now, it is amongst towns and cautionments that our principal experiences have been acquired of this institution, and the educated Indians of the towns, feeling all the evils and experiencing none of the advantages of caste, are naturally loud in their condemnation of it. And hence the evil reputation into which, with the advanced classes, the institution of caste has so universally fallen. Hence the cry arising from all Europeans, and a trifling section of natives, that caste should be abolished from one end of India to the other. But how is it that no response comes from these country populations, amongst whom I have lived? How is it that these shrewd-headed people are so insensible to the evils of caste, and that you never hear one word about it? The answer is extremely simple. They have never felt these evils, because for them they do not exist. If they felt the pressure of caste-laws, as do the people of the towns, the outcry would be universal and the institution speedily done away with. When the people of the country are as advanced as the people of the towns, then, and not till then, will the pressure, which is now confined to the latter, be universally felt;—then, and not till then, will this institution, being no longer suited to the requirements of the age, be universally discarded.

Let us now say a few words as to the line of conduct that should be adopted as regards caste by those who are desirous of getting rid of that institution.

In the first place the opponents of caste should not weaken their case by talking nonsense; and, in the second place, they should remember above all things that, to use a common saying, "If you want a pig to go to Dublin, the best thing you can do is to start him off on the way to Cork." I shall now enlarge a little on both of these recommendations.

To illustrate my first suggestion, our time will not be unprofitably employed in considering some of those remarkable conclusions which sound so well in the observations one often hears about India. The tendency of caste, you will hear it gravely urged, is to elevate the upper classes on the highest possible pinnacle, and keep the Pariah grovelling in the dust. What, continues the speaker, keeps the Brahmin at the top and the Sudra at the bottom? What, let me ask in turn, keeps our dukes on these lofty pinnacles, and those Dorsetshire and Devonshire labourers as ignorant, more helpless, and a great deal worse off than my plantation coolies?

Why is a cow's tail long and a fox's tail bushy? Is it in the 19th century that we are to try and din into people's ears that the upper classes in India were at the top of the social scale and the Pariah at the bottom centuries before caste, in its present shape, ever existed, and that the relative position of the two races would continue with little change were caste abolished to-morrow morning?

What, gravely asks another, has prevented the people of India uniting into one nation, and destroyed all hopes of political fusion? Nor would the absurdity of the question be apparent to many till you asked them what has prevented all Europe becoming one nation? or, to take things on a smaller scale, let us ask what prevented the Highland clans forming themselves into a nation?

What, again, has prevented the educated natives from turning Roman Catholics, or Anglicans, or Presbyterians, Wesleyans or Baptists? Caste, again, is the common answer, combined in this last instance with what people are pleased to call native prejudices, though what that means I do not pretend to explain. Now, it is not improbable that some of you may have heard of Holloway's pills, and we know, in fact, that thousands must believe that medicine to be an efficacious remedy for every constitutional ailment. Only swallow Holloway and you are a cured man. Well, the abolition of caste, with an incredible number of people, is, in like manner, confidently pronounced to be a universal remedy for all the political and social complaints of India. Remove that, and you will at one stroke secure social liberty—national unity—the removal of idolatry, and the adoption of Christianity. Such, then, are a few samples of the nonsense that is talked about caste, and I think I need not waste time in pointing out that opponents of caste must take very different ground if they wish to obtain a hearing from the people of India.

In the second point to which I wished to call your attention, I alluded to the universal law of opposition, and used a common saying which exactly illustrates the probable result of violent and ill-judged attacks on caste. In fact, so apparent is this, that I feel sure you will have already anticipated the line I suggest that the opponents of caste should follow. What the opponents of caste should preach is not the abolition

of that institution, but toleration for the educated and advanced of their countrymen who, finding caste no longer suited to them, wish to discard it. They should urge that this institution is valuable for the rural populations, and urge them to maintain it; but at the same time urge that times are changing, and that the people of the towns ask for some toleration, not because caste is necessarily an evil of itself, but because it is highly inconvenient. This is the way (and if this does not do, no other will) that the evils of caste are to be mitigated; and I urge these views accordingly on the serious attention of all enlightened Indians.

In the early part of this paper I observed that it was not my intention to attempt to trace the origin of caste, or to give an account of the various forms it has assumed; indeed, to attempt the latter alone, would require a paper of itself. But I may venture, in conclusion, to make a few general remarks on the nature and origin of caste.

The common idea of caste is, that it is simply a combination of troublesome and fanciful restrictions imposed upon the various people of India by those of the upper classes who desired to keep themselves above the jostling of the crowd. But this institution (if that be a correct term for it) arose naturally and regularly out of the circumstances of the times, and when these circumstances no longer exist, it will as naturally disappear; and that the last must happen, we have seen from the fact that altered circumstances have already caused the commencement of its removal with the people of the towns. But the general circumstances which gave birth to caste require a few words of explanation, and the following solution seems not an unnatural one.

We know as a certain fact, that certain peoples to whom we have given the names of Dravidians and Aryans, entered India from the north; that they increased and multiplied, overspread the whole of India, and reduced the aborigines to serfdom. We also know that these tribes from the north, who were, comparatively speaking, fair, looked upon the black, ugly, carrion-eating aborigines with singular disgust. Hence naturally must have arisen the opinions as regarding Pariahs, which all the superior castes hold to this day. Even to have food touched by people of such abominable habits must have been repulsive, and therefore the separation into men of caste and men of no caste followed as a matter of course. Caste, then, seems naturally to have arisen from the idea that to associate in any way with people of bad habits and grovelling ideas is an intolerable degradation. The superior races, therefore, must have considered it a matter of importance to retreat as far as possible from the habits of the aborigines, and when we take into consideration the influence of religion—the natural ambition of the priestly classes—and the fondness of the Hindoo mind for subtle distinctions, the rest easily follows. But though numerous castes arose amongst the invaders, the really offensive distinction is still the original one of race between the races from the north, and the aborigines whom they found in possession of India. The base, then, of caste we may rest assured was simply the result of a people wishing to keep themselves uncontaminated when coming in contact with a debased population. This was exactly the case with the Jews. They were simply a very strongly-guarded caste, and it is curious to observe the correspondence between the caste rules of the Jews and those at present in force amongst the Indians. In Munzerabad, no caste native will give you anything to drink out of an earthenware vessel, though he has no objection to your drinking from his brass lotah. The Levitical law is the same, and enjoins the breaking of an earthenware vessel, but only the cleansing of a brass one, after being used by a stranger. This may seem a ridiculous restriction, but it was one of many to prevent the Jews from adopting the rules and customs of the people around them, and the Indians having similar views have naturally adopted similar means. Such then, is a brief generalization of the causes which led to caste-laws, which were no doubt, carried in some instances to a ridiculous length, but which were founded in common sense, and were admirably adapted to carry into effect the opinions of the superior races.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—At our last meeting I said that I thought the natives of India were to be congratulated on the fact that English gentlemen were, from time to time, found devoting their time and attention to the preparation of papers affecting the interests of the natives. As an additional matter of congratulation we have, in the present case, an English gentleman who not only takes the trouble to prepare an interesting paper on one of those subjects, but who, contrary to the very frequent custom adopted by Englishmen of judging everything according to their own standard, and condemning every native institution which is not consistent with their own

notions or institutions, without giving consideration to the necessity of the institution at the time of its origin, takes a careful and thoughtful view of an institution which has existed from very old times among a population of 200,000,000, and endeavours to find the good that there is in it. It is much to Mr. Elliot's credit that he has shown so great an interest in the welfare of the natives with whom he has come in contact. He has entered into their feelings, and tried to give a fair consideration to the institutions existing among them; and the intimate acquaintance he seems to have cultivated with the natives around him entitles him to speak with some authority on the subject which he has brought forward. I do not see that I have much to say against the views that he has expressed. I am rather glad that, contrary to the general current of abuse against caste, he comes forward to show that there is some good in the institution—that in condemning the institutions of any country all the circumstances must be taken into consideration—and that the institution of caste, which has existed for so many years, had its origin in the social condition of the people at the time it originated. I find that Mr. Elliot fully admits that caste ought not to exist for ever in India, and that he looks forward to the time when, owing to the spread of education, caste and its baneful effects will disappear. I will merely, therefore, specially point out a few instances in which, in the present condition of India, caste is a real bar to progress. I grant fully that in the condition of society existing at the time the system of caste was established it may have done a great deal of good (though even in those early times it was productive at the same time of much harm; for a nation so split up into small societies by themselves never could keep up its power as a political body); but, taking the circumstances of the country as they exist at present, I will give one or two instances in which the present system of caste interferes with progress among the higher classes. The great struggle which is now going on in Bombay about the widow marriage question is an apt illustration of it; and, also, the fear of excommunication prevents a large body of natives from coming to this country, and profiting by their visit. It is often said, "Educated Hindoos ought not to care for this excommunication;" but those who say that little think what excommunication means. A man who is excommunicated may not care for it for his own sake, but he has his family to consider. What is to be done with his daughters? They cannot marry if the father is excommunicated, and the result therefore is most serious with them. I knew of one instance of a native gentleman who, being excommunicated from his caste from having visited England, had on the death of his child been put to the very painful necessity of having it carried by his servant, without anybody accompanying him, he being a person of a different religion. I simply point this out as an instance to show that caste is out of date—that, having done the good it was designed to do, it is now an anachronism. With regard to the speculations Mr. Elliot entered into as to the future religion of India, I certainly will not follow him. That is a subject which, I think, can be left to time. We do not know whether Brahminism will eventually spread over all India, or whether it will be one of the hundred-and-one religions which now already exist. Those are matters not bearing on the question, and therefore I will not enter into them, but merely say that I feel very thankful to Mr. Elliot for the manner in which he has dealt with this subject, and I wish his example were followed by all Englishmen writing on Indian subjects, and that they would give due consideration to all the necessities and bearings of the case, feeling that the institutions of any country should only be condemned after a careful consideration of all their bearings, and after putting a charitable construction on the efforts made to keep up those institutions on the part of those who have been brought up in them, and who therefore cannot be expected to shake them off all at once. Therefore, I thank Mr. Elliot most sincerely for the very thoughtful way in which he has considered this much-abused custom of caste. I am not a Hindoo—I am a Parsee; so that I have nothing to fear from caste, and no struggles to make for or against it; but the work of a Hindoo in endeavouring to abolish caste is a mighty work. However, we may depend upon it that, by the spread of education, though it will be an arduous struggle to fight against the obstructions that in these days caste throws in the way of progress, progress will not be checked under the British rule. Let every one do his best in a legitimate way to help it, without coercion, or demanding the interference of the Government, and in time the natives will, I hope, have ample reason to bless the day when England first put her foot on Indian soil.

The CHAIRMAN.—In the first place I wish to express my great admiration for the graphic power and general intelligence which characterizes the paper which Mr.

Elliot has read. That paper has been a most interesting one; indeed, everything which is the result of the personal experience in India of an unprejudiced mind must be interesting. I agree with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in thinking that generally our condemnation of what we find in India has proceeded from our own English prejudices, rather than a careful consideration of the subject. It appears to me that Mr. Elliot's paper may be summarized in this way:—He considers that caste was called for by the circumstances of society at the time it was originally instituted, that it was productive of good when it was established, and has been productive of great good since, and yet, with what to me appeared a pleasing inconsistency, he seems to hope that it will be very soon abolished. I have very little doubt if we could penetrate into the mist and darkness of remote ages we should find that the circumstances of the time afforded reasonable ground for the institution. I admit that, in the particular instances Mr. Elliot mentioned, caste may have been a beneficial custom. The restriction placed on intercommunication between caste and caste may have operated favourably, more particularly as regards immoral connections; and I can also understand that it operated advantageously in preserving amongst the higher classes a certain amount of self-respect, preventing them from feeling a consciousness of inferiority to the civilized races who have conquered them. It is a deep moral truth that self-respect lies at the bottom of almost all moral conduct. I fully agree with Mr. Elliot in those particular points; but when he comes to remark upon the extreme demoralization of the Pariah or Sudra caste, the question arises, What caused that? and it appears to me that his argument there rather defeats itself, because it is clear that the slavery, the bondage, the mental and moral degradation which characterize the Sudra caste is the direct effect of their exclusion from all the privileges of the higher classes. The very essence of caste is, that it raises the Brahmin on a pinnacle, and condemns the Sudra, who had the misfortune to spring from Brahma's toe, to perpetual slavery and bondage. I do not understand how that can be regarded, except as a direct evil arising from the institution of caste itself. I cannot, therefore, follow Mr. Elliot's argument; perhaps in his further remarks he may cast a little further light upon that point. If the demoralization of the Pariah caste is quoted at all, I should think it would be most reasonable to quote it as one of the most pregnant evils arising from an institution which separates one class from the other, making the Brahmin a god and the Sudra a dog. The later remarks of Mr. Elliot rather trench upon dangerous ground. We are a society consisting of Christians, Mahometans, Parsees, and Hindoos, all holding different religious views, and each giving the other the credit of believing conscientiously what he believes; and though I do not know that we have a positive rule prohibiting the discussion of religious subjects, yet, by a sort of tacit consent, it is understood that we should mutually avoid such matters. Therefore it was with some apprehension that I listened to some of the remarks made by Mr. Elliot. If his paper as it stands should be printed in the Journal, many Hindoos living in India, who have not yet breathed the free air of London, would look with great suspicion and dislike at some of the later remarks made by Mr. Elliot. I think a large body of Christians would also feel great offence at some of the remarks made on missionaries; and the story of the Brahmins on the car, though extremely amusing, would rather offend some of our Brahmin friends. Having thought it right, as Chairman, to make these observations, I bring my remarks to a close by saying that I am sure you will all agree with me in returning Mr. Elliot our thanks for the interesting and graphic description of his personal experience in India.

Mr. ELLIOT, in reply, observed, in reference to the remarks of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that he agreed with him in regarding caste as an institution which in an enlightened age would be flung aside, but he disagreed with him as to the agency to which we should look for its abolishment. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji thought, that by the spread of education among the higher classes, the feeling against caste would go from above downwards; but he, Mr. Elliot, considered that all movements, if they are to be lasting and beneficial, must come from the body of the nation, and extend upwards; otherwise, it would be like a hen scratching on the top of a mound, leaving the centre of the mound untouched. He maintained that caste had been productive of a great deal of good, but he thought that when the state of society was so advanced as no longer to require it, it should be abolished. He only regarded it as a desirable institution in the state of society in which it had arisen. He did not say caste itself was a good thing; on the contrary, it was rather an affliction of an inferior state of things; but he considered it admirably suited to that state of things. With reference to his

remarks about religion, on which the Chairman had animadverted, he insisted that, in considering a subject of this nature, it was necessary to look at it in all its bearings. He had not intended to say anything antagonistic to any man's religion, but his remarks on religion arose incidentally out of the subject; his observations on Christianity were not directed against Christianity itself, but against the outward forms of it. He would be glad to see the advancement of real Christianity, but a mere change of name without a real change of religion was not, in his opinion, of much value. He did not see how any discussion on caste could be carried on without dealing with the broad question of religion, though he admitted sectarian questions ought to be avoided. With regard to caste causing the degradation of the Pariahs, his view was that had it not been for caste, which was the result of the introduction among the aborigines of the manners and customs of the invading race—a race superior to the conquered race whom they reduced to bondage—the superior race would have been brought down to the level of the inferior race, instead of the inferior race rising to the level of the superior race.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Elliot for his paper, added a few words to those he had already addressed to the meeting in reference to Mr. Elliot's remarks on religion. Looking to the future stability and welfare of the Association, which was an Association composed of persons of various religions, whose common purpose was the welfare of India, he thought it of the utmost necessity that the members of the Association should avoid all disparaging remarks regarding the religion of each other.

Mr. WADYA, in seconding the proposition for a vote of thanks to Mr. Elliot, said that he did so with very great pleasure, for he regarded his paper as a most valuable one in this respect: his native friends on reading it would say, "When we see a gentleman dealing with the question of caste with all his English prejudices against our customs, we do not give to his opinions that weight which we should give to them if we knew that he was considering the matter without prejudice; but here we have a gentleman approaching the question of caste with an unprejudiced mind, and disposed to take a charitable view of it, and yet he cannot refrain from saying that caste ought to be abolished as soon as possible."

Mr. CAMA moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in seconding it, remarked, with reference to what the Chairman had said on the subject of religion, that, while he agreed that the Association should avoid all discussion on the merits of one religion as compared with another, he thought when such a subject as caste was being discussed, its connection with religion must necessarily be considered. One of the purposes of the Association was to show the British public the Hindoo in all his phases, his ways of life, his notions, his customs, and his institutions; and so long as any gentleman reading a paper before the Association gave a faithful picture of the customs and institutions of the natives of India, in all their bearings, if he avoided casting ridicule on those institutions, or making unpleasant reflections on any religious faith, he was not trespassing beyond proper bounds. While the members of the Association should avoid any invidious comparison between one religion and another, it was, in his opinion, legitimate and proper for them to deal with the broad scientific view of humanity in all its relations, of religion, morals, science, art, manners, and customs, so long as care was taken to make no reflection on any religion calculated to hurt the feelings of any section of society.

Mr. ELLIOT stated that he would be most happy to expunge anything reflecting on any religious body whatever.

## THE BOMBAY COTTON ACT OF 1869.

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The following Paper, submitted by DADABHAI NAOROJI, Esq., on the above Act was discussed at a Meeting of the East India Association, held on the 21st December, 1869, E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., M.P., in the Chair.\*

IN placing this important subject before the East India Association for its consideration, I must say at once that I have no desire whatsoever to take or fight for a partisan view of the question. The only reason and justification for me for troubling you with this subject is that it is of great importance, and that it is highly desirable that it should have as complete a discussion as possible. In order to have a completely fair discussion I also desire earnestly that attacks on personal motives will be altogether avoided—that the meeting will take it for granted that the advocates as well as the opposers of the measure in the Legislative Council of Bombay were actuated by sincere motives and convictions, and that it is only to the merits of the question that the discussion in this Association will be confined. I avoid any discussion on the previous stages and conditions of the Bill, as that could serve no useful purpose. I take the Act as it was finally passed on 21st October last,† by the Legislative Council of Bombay, and let us see what its necessity is, and what its effects will be.

The first question that has been started in connection with this Act is, whether it is at all necessary: the second question we shall have to consider is whether the Act as framed will attain its object, and what are likely to be its effects. On the one side it is said that no necessity has been made out for such special legislation as the present enactment for the cotton trade; that the adulteration is nothing unusual; that the proof that there is necessity for such special legislation must be furnished by those

\* See page 33.

† See page 21.

who advocate the measure, as they who think the measure unnecessary cannot prove a negative. They can only say that no facts or figures have been produced to justify such legislation beyond the existing penal laws of the country. It is replied to this, that the measure is necessary. Instead of simply considering the mere assertions of either side as sufficient to decide the point, I endeavoured to find out any positive testimony, or facts or figures, which could support either of these views. This is the result.

The Hon. Mr. Campbell, who is the principal advocate of the Act now passed, says:—"And there are many people who tell us that the change we now see is the natural consequence of our now having railways, telegraphs, banks, and other facilities for commercial dealings, which render the interference of Government, by legislation, now unnecessary. But I assert that all this in no way affects the propensity of the natives of this country to adulterate; nor do I charge them with more than is common in all parts of the world where trade is active, and will be common so long as human nature is human nature. So long as profits can be made by adulteration there will always be people ready to practise it." Mr. Campbell first points to the propensity of the natives to adulterate, and then acquits them at once as not doing anything more than any other people would do under similar circumstances. Not only does Mr. Campbell make a general assertion that the natives who are connected with cotton are no worse than any other people, but he actually gives it as his testimony of the actual results. While maintaining, "as to the necessity of an Act for the prevention of adulteration, he would maintain it to the last against the opinion of very many of his brother merchants in Bombay," he bears witness, as the result of twenty years' experience, both in Bombay and Liverpool, as follows:—"He maintained that, relatively to intrinsic quality, the cotton crops of Western India had not been sent to England in worse condition than American cotton, which people assumed was free from impurities. American cotton was not free from the preventible faults seen in Indian cotton, having more leaf and dirt in it than it ought to have if carefully prepared for market. The outcry from Manchester as to the bad



quality of Indian cotton had not really proceeded from the inferiority of its quality, as those who knew the trade best were aware. The Manchester people always clamoured to have Indian cotton, because, next to America, India was the main source for supply of quantity; but it was well known that nearly one-half of the cotton sent to Europe from India was not consumed in England, but on the continent of Europe, where it always held its own, and he was not aware that there had ever been much complaint as to its quality from that quarter." Such is Mr. Campbell's own testimony. He does not say that there is such unusually bad conduct on the part of the cotton trade of Bombay that they deserve to be exceptionally treated, nor have I in the course of my reading found any direct testimony given in Bombay as to such *unusual* adulteration, say during the last seven years, as to call for such unusual legislation, beyond what already exists in the penal code for all classes of people and all trades.

The above statement of Mr. Campbell is the only attempt, so far as I have been able to find, at a distinct opinion upon the extent of adulteration. I therefore endeavoured to ascertain facts for myself from other quarters. It naturally occurred to me to look to Liverpool and Manchester for some light. Thinking that if the state of the case at present was such as to require such unusual legislation, Liverpool and Manchester must have, as most interested in the matter, taken some practical action, and justified it with some facts and figures. I collected all the annual and six-monthly reports of the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, and saw what was said in them. Now I find that in all these reports there is not one word on the subject. That the Liverpool Chamber has taken an interest in the subject of cotton is evident from the fact that they prominently mention their desire to co-operate with the Manchester Chamber of Commerce for extending the supply of cotton; but they neither suggest nor urge any such legislation as this Act. I also asked a cotton broker of Liverpool to inquire whether the Cotton Brokers' Association had ever discussed or expressed any opinion on the necessity of such legislation as that under question; and the reply is, that neither that association nor the East India and China Association had ever done so.

I then looked into the annual reports of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, from the year 1860 to 1869—the past ten years. They bear ample testimony to the persevering and deep interest that body has taken in the question of the cotton trade in India. They have urged upon the Government various important matters, but I do not find any mention in these reports of their having ever pressed the Indian Government for a necessity for special penal legislation, except that, in the speeches of individual members, there are two or three allusions to the adulteration, and one allusion to the Act of 1863; but even these allusions are confined to the exceptional times of high price and high temptations during the American war.

I next looked into the annual reports of the Cotton Supply Association, from the year 1860 to 1869, and there also, except on two occasions, there is no notice taken of any necessity for any penal legislation. Once in the report of 1864, after the Act of 1863 was passed, they expressed a hope “that the law to prevent fraudulent adulterations, which came into operation a few months ago, will, with other measures, promoted by your association, tend to redeem the product of India from the odium under which it has so long laboured.” In the same report, in another part, they say that they had asked, with other measures, for prevention of adulteration and fraud. This, however, was during the excitement and temptations of the year 1863. In the report of 1860, in which adulteration is complained of, the remedy proposed is not a penal act, but formation of companies and pressing and packing in the interior. The association does not make any allusion to the subject afterwards, though they have *never relaxed* their efforts, or passed any opportunity, to urge upon the Indian Government all such measures as they consider beneficial.

Even so late as the 27th of November last, Mr. Cheetham, President of the Cotton Supply Association, in his address to the National Reform Union, while pointing out all that he thought the Indian Government ought to do, says not a word on the subject of such exceptional legislation now.

I think I may fairly draw the conclusion that, so far as the public declarations of the two important bodies of Manchester,

as given in their annual reports, are concerned, the subject of unusual penal legislation was not uppermost in their minds. Some of the gentlemen in Bombay have, I think, unnecessarily blamed Manchester in this matter. Unfortunately, for some time past, it has become the fashion to father every possible thing on Manchester, and make it the scapegoat of many sins. Now, though I may differ, in some matters, from Manchester, as to all that they expect Government to do, I think nobody who takes an impartial view of the matter, refuses to Manchester the credit of having done much good to India. In fact, when I look round to all such bodies in this country (independent of Government) as can command some political power, the Manchester body is the one which has done most for India.

I further made more inquiries, to get any facts which should point to the necessity of such an Act as the present. Mr. Samuel Smith, of Liverpool, in the year 1863, also complains of great adulteration. But he himself very fairly points out the peculiar excitement and unusual temptations of the time, and thinks that, with a more natural state of affairs, such effects of unusual adulteration should cease. I have now placed before you these facts, and it is for you to judge whether a case can be at all made out for this special Act. Instead of urging penal legislation, the Manchester gentlemen seem to think that the natives are sufficiently alive to their interest, if they only had proper guidance, encouragement, and example. Mr. Cheetham, in the speech to which I have alluded above, says:—"He had asked Sir John Lawrence, in conversing with him once upon the productive powers of India, 'Are the men capable of understanding self-interest?' 'Oh, decidedly,' he replied." In the summary of Mr. Haywood's report, given in the Cotton Supply Association's Report of 1862, Article 10 runs thus:—"That when fair-dealing Europeans settle in the interior, and point the way to improvement, whether in new modes of agriculture, trade, or otherwise, the natives of India are sufficiently alive to their own interests to be willing to adopt all such practical improvements as tend to their profit." There are altogether

seventeen conclusions given as the summary of Mr. Haywood's labour, but there is not the least hint for such penal measures. This, then, appears to be the state of the case. There are no facts or figures, as far as I can find, adduced which point to the necessity at present for the proposed unusual penal legislation; on the contrary, the best advocate of the Act, the Hon. Mr. Campbell, tells us that the natives are no worse than their neighbours, and those that are most interested in it, the Bombay, Liverpool, and Manchester merchants, have not made any special complaints, or urged any necessity for such legislation.

I submit that in order to justify such an Act some good grounds must be shown. That there is some adulteration there is no doubt, and any buyer has ample redress, or any cheater can be punished under the existing penal code; but no case is made out to justify the present special legislation for the cotton trade. The next thing urged is, that as the cotton trade is a very important trade and involves great interests, it is necessary to protect it with unusual measures, so as to enable it to keep its ground in the English market. But I have shown that there has been no proof produced, nor any unusual complaint made from any quarter demanding extra penal legislation for the purpose. On the contrary, the greatest cry raised on the subject is what naturally suggests itself to anybody, and what the Manchester gentlemen most press for—increased facility of communication, by which the grower and the merchant may come in direct contact and to produce cheaply, more irrigation and other necessary public works, improved methods of cultivation, improved machinery, &c. Further than this is also urged the appointment of cotton commissioners to guide the improvements, and an agricultural department has also been suggested. These measures have been more or less accomplished, and there is direct testimony that they have produced their effect. The very interesting report of Mr. Rivett-Carnac is one continuous testimony of what one person like him can do, not by striking terror into the hearts of the cultivators and dealers, but by inspiring confidence and helping in every possible way to remove

difficulties and obstructions. I give below a few extracts from Mr. Carnac's "Concluding Remarks,"\* as to the causes of the

\* "158. . . . Before concluding this report I would desire, however, to refer to the important causes that have been at work in our favour during the last few years in this part of India, and which have, I believe, been more effective in improving the cultivation of cotton, its preparation for market, and the general tone of the trade, than could have been any action of Government, however skilfully or powerfully directed. . . .

"159. . . . Although the success of the Cotton Department in Western India is well known, it would be absurd to suppose that, in these provinces at least, these great results are due to the exertions of Government officers, which are comparatively of but recent date. The improvement has certainly not been caused by the introduction of any foreign seed, nor has the cultivation of the plant suddenly undergone any great change. How the very desirable results have been brought about, an attempt will now be made to explain.

"164. Like the twin dragons that, in the fairy tale, guard the entrance to the haunted castle, the two obstacles that barred the way to improvement were such, that no advance could be made unless both could be simultaneously removed by one successful blow. So long as the markets were inaccessible it was of no avail to improve the position of the ryot. Even if he were suddenly to become sufficiently independent to carry his cotton to market, the inaccessible state of the country would prevent an outsider coming forward, and the money-lender, being still the only purchaser, would still keep the trade in his own hands. And even if, on the other hand, a network of railways were to remove this obstacle, and to bring European merchants into the field, the indebtedness of the ryot would effectually prevent his dealing directly in the market with the new comers, and the trade would still remain as before. Suddenly, as if by magic, both these obstacles were effectually and simultaneously removed, and the cotton trade, as it was carried on in 1864 in Central India, is hardly to be recognized by the side of the business as it is done in our markets to-day.

"165. Whilst the railway, slowly but surely, was working on to the heart of the cotton-growing country, the position of the cultivator was undergoing a great and decided change. The operations of the Land Revenue Settlement relieved him of all anxiety regarding his tenure; the re-arrangement of the instalments of his rent, now fixed so as to give him time to dispose of his crop before payment for his fields has to be made, have helped to lighten his burden with the money-lender; and, finally, the American war, by raising the price of cotton, and pouring into the ryot's hands what appeared to him untold wealth, enabled all who were not utterly reckless and extravagant to free themselves from the meshes of the money-lender's books. . . .

"166. Simultaneously the railway arrived at the threshold of our markets, and Khangaon, Oomraotee, and Hinghungat—places which, in old days, were at a distance to be measured by months, not miles—are now within a day or a day and a half's journey of Bombay; and the ryot who brings in his cart-load of cotton, and the merchant who has come up by railway to

present improvement in cotton. I cannot say exactly what Mr. Carnac's opinion may be about the present Act, but he evidently lays all the stress upon the causes he points out.

Mr. W. Walton (at the time he was acting Cotton Commissioner) is quoted in a pamphlet on Broach and its exhibition, by Mr. Martin Wood, he having said, "This is an important cotton district, and has decided advantages over all the rest of the Presidency with its means and capabilities for cleaning and preparing its staple for the

purchase, meet face to face in the cotton market, and there transact business with one another direct.

"167. And the great benefit of the new state of matters is this: If I have sufficiently explained myself, it will be seen that, as the trade was before managed, the cultivator had no object in delivering clean, carefully-tended cotton, and the dealer had many temptations to mix different growths together, and to pass off on the purchasers in Bombay, who were entirely dependent on him for supplies, a class of cotton very inferior to what was to be got in the cotton-growing districts. The present state of the trade affords to the ryot that inducement to grow really good cotton, which, to the cause of improved cotton cultivation, is more important and more effective than the labour of Government officers, however devotedly and intelligently given; and at the same time the position of the agent or purchaser, who acts in the districts for the Bombay merchants, and who takes the place of the dealer, is such, that it is clearly to his interest to buy for his constituents the very cream of the cotton crop, and to take every precaution to prevent the cotton sent down to Bombay being mixed or tampered with. The cultivators now grow good cotton; and that cotton is sent home untainted; and the changes of the last few years have secured for our cotton what was most urgently required in order to give it a fair chance, and the results are already beginning to show themselves in the satisfactory character our produce now holds.

"169. Thus, then, the interest of the grower, the up-country agent, and the merchants in Bombay, all now are concentrated in producing and procuring the best cotton; and the full presses and the railway being at our service close to all our markets, it is not to be wondered at that a class of cotton reaches England different from the inferior stuff which so many interested causes helped in old days to palm off on the market. Those who now see the Indian cotton that flows into Liverpool say that 'Indian cotton has improved.' In the districts at the source the cotton has perhaps undergone some slight improvement. But the improvement is chiefly to be attributed to the fact that the trade has now been turned into a new channel, which is more smooth and pure than that in which it had so long flowed, and that the cotton which now reaches the home market bears a much closer resemblance to the true cotton as drawn at the fountain-head than the foul mixture of many streams which in old days poured into the Bombay market."

European market; to this alone is to be attributed the rapid (relative) rise that has of late years taken place in the price of Broach cotton."

The question resolves itself into this, whether, judging from the past, terror or confidence and a conviction of self-interest are likely to be the more powerful influence in extending further improvements?

That there will always be a certain amount of dishonesty among every people cannot be denied, but while the penal laws of the country are sufficient to meet the necessity, is it wise to introduce any unnecessarily heavy terror to operate upon one class more than another? Is it prudent, or even just, to treat those who engage themselves in the most important trades with greater suspicion and harshness than those who do not? Can such measures have the tendency of encouraging the further extension of such trade, or discouraging? Nobody has urged that the people engaged in the cotton trade are at present worse than any other people either of India or England.

The chief and strongest argument urged by Mr. Campbell, which, in fact, makes up nearly the whole of his speech at the second reading of the Bill, is this, that in 1842 one hundred native merchants had urgently asked Government help to prevent adulteration; that in 1849 the adulteration had so much increased, that Government thought it time to interfere. They consulted the Chamber of Commerce, and Messrs. Remington and Sir Jamshedjee, and others. The result was, that the Chamber of Commerce, and others, recommended measures to prevent adulteration. So far, therefore, the Government had always helped, as requested by the mercantile community. The Government subsequently showed some intention of withdrawing their interference with the cotton trade, when the Chamber of Commerce urged it not to do so. Government showed reluctance, and on one occasion (in their resolution of 30th January, 1862) laid down the principle, that "The supervision is a duty which belongs to the dealers, and not to Government." The Chamber, however, remained urgent, and the result was the Act of 1863, with



the additional feature of a fee being levied on the cotton trade to defray the expenses of the department.

Suppose, now, we grant all the facts given by Mr. Campbell, they mean that the native merchants and the Chamber of Commerce had been at certain times urgent to have protection at the hands of Government, and that under such requests had Government interfered. The legitimate conclusion from this would be, that, if now those very parties most interested in the trade, under a change of circumstances, desire that there should be no further interference from Government, no extra penal legislation, beyond what already exists in the penal code, it is quite evident Government should not force upon them an Act which they do not desire. And further, as I have shown above, as no special desire has been expressed in Liverpool or Manchester, it seems that Government are unnecessarily undertaking a duty beyond their province, which ought to be left to those most interested in the subject.

As far as business in Liverpool is concerned, it cannot be said that anybody buys cotton without knowing what he is buying. First samples are drawn, and the sale made according to those samples. No buyer is deceived by any false name that may be given to the cotton, or mark upon the bales by the shippers. Both the buying and selling broker in Liverpool examine the class, quality, and value of the cotton for themselves. If the cotton is any mixture, or of inferior quality, its valuation is made accordingly, and the buyer pays his price not upon any mere marks or representations from the sellers, but upon his own judgment of the parcel. Further, if a buyer, on opening the bales, finds anything, say some false packing, or quality different from that of the sample, he comes down upon the seller in Liverpool.

The parties, therefore, most interested to prevent adulteration or any kind of fraud, are the merchants in Bombay, whether for their own purchases, or for getting consignments. Now, if in years 1842, '51, and '62, it was the desire of these exporting merchants, both European and native, to obtain protection, Government gave it. They now, under change of circumstances, do not desire such protection; then why should

it be forced upon them? I think I have urged sufficient to show that the present Act is unnecessary and beyond the province of Government.

Now let us examine the Act itself, as passed. Clause 2—the one against which the greatest opposition is offered—runs thus:—“Whoever adulterates or deteriorates cotton by mixing therewith any seed, dirt, stones, or other foreign matter, or by mixing cleaned with uncleaned cotton, commonly called cuppas; and whoever mixes cotton of different varieties, that is to say, exotic and indigenous cotton, or old and new cotton, that is cotton of the growth of different seasons, and whoever exposes cotton to dew with the object of increasing its weight, or by any other means fraudulently or dishonestly increases or attempts to increase its weight, shall for a first offence be punishable, on conviction, with fine not exceeding one hundred rupees, and for any subsequent offence with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, or with fine, or with both.”

Now, suppose I have a lot of cotton in my warehouse, and it is found that there is adulteration, what is to be done? The clause says, “whoever adulterates or deteriorates,” and “whoever mixes cotton of different varieties,” &c. Now, if I am prosecuted, and if I say that *I* have not adulterated, or deteriorated, or mixed, what is to be done? If the mere fact of my coming into possession of such cotton be enough to convict me, then it is quite evident that the clause is a very unjust one, and will prove oppressive to many innocent persons. About mixing cotton of different varieties, Mr. Tucker urged that it would be hard on the cultivator to be punished when the mixture may be owing to the different varieties growing in the same field. His Excellency replied that no magistrate or jury would convict under such circumstances. So far satisfactory, provided every magistrate knows His Excellency's explanation, which the Act does not give; but the cotton does not begin and end with the cultivators. We must go farther. Suppose I have purchased from 100 different cultivators, these cultivators have, suppose, a mixture, occasioned in the way which His Excellency thinks is not punishable; but instead of the few bales of each cultivator, I have now 200 or 300 bales of cotton on my hands. In a large

collection the mixture may make a material appearance. Am I now to be punished under Clause 2, though the cultivators in detail cannot be touched?

Clause 5 provides:—"Whoever fraudulently or dishonestly sells, or offers for sale, any cotton adulterated, deteriorated, mixed, or increased in weight, as described in Section II. of this Act, shall be punishable, on conviction, with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, or with fine, or with both."

Now, this would mean that mixed cotton, &c., can be offered for sale honestly. But how can the possessor of such cotton escape punishment provided in the 2nd Clause, and be at all in a position to offer for sale mixed, &c., cotton *honestly*? Is this Clause 5 meant to be a trap for him to come out and say honestly that he has bad cotton? For if I offer honestly I am to be pounced upon under Clause 2, and if dishonestly, under Clause 5. What is the good of Clause 2, if it is meant by this Act that honesty will not be punished, because of Clause 5? And if bad cotton can be sold honestly, as per Clause 5, what is to become of the chief object, that the intention of the Act is to send to England good, pure, and unadulterated cotton only?

Now look at Clause 12:—"Whoever shall offer for packing in a half-pressed bale cotton adulterated, deteriorated, or mixed, as described in Section II., shall for a first offence be punishable, on conviction, with a fine not exceeding one hundred rupees, and on conviction for any subsequent offence with a fine not exceeding five hundred rupees; and all such cotton so offered may be confiscated or disposed of under rules sanctioned by Government for the guidance of officers appointed to administer this Act."

This would mean that though a person, according to Clause 5, can honestly offer to sell, he cannot honestly offer to pack mixed cotton. Clause 5 having allowed honest sale, and therefore honest purchase, how can honest packing be prevented? And if prevented, where is the protection to the honest seller or packer? and if he is to be allowed honest packing, then what is to become of the whole object of the Act, not to send adulterated or mixed cotton to England?

Now, Clause 13 says :—“Whoever, being a licensee of a half-press, shall knowingly press, or attempt to press, or allow to be pressed, cotton adulterated, mixed, or deteriorated in the manner specified in Section II., shall be liable to have his licence withdrawn by the collector of the district or other officer empowered under Section VIII. to grant licences, and shall for a first offence be punishable, on conviction, with a fine not exceeding five hundred rupees, and for any subsequent offence shall be punishable, on conviction, with a fine not exceeding one thousand rupees.”

This clause prevents a press from packing bad cotton. But suppose the packer describes honestly the character of the cotton, what is the packer to do? Of course, not pack. Then what is the protection to the honest buyer, who buys from an honest seller, under Clause 5?

But, again, look at Clauses 16 and 17 :—“It shall be the duty of every licensee of a full-press to keep a daily register of all cotton brought for compression to any press under his control; and to require from the owner of such cotton, or his agent, a description of the same, previous to its compression, which description shall be entered in the said register, and certified by the signature of the owner or his agent in the presence of the register-keeper as witness; and it shall not be lawful to press such cotton until it shall first have been entered and certified as aforesaid. The daily register shall be in the form of Schedule B, hereunto annexed; and any licensee of such press who shall fail to keep such a register shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred rupees; and any such licensee who, after notice in writing given by an inspector under this Act, shall so fail, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 2500 rs., and to have his licence withdrawn.

“The description of cotton to be given and entered in the daily register, as required by Section XVI. of this Act, shall include the name by which such cotton is usually sold in or shipped from Bombay, and shall state whether it be old or new cotton, that is, the growth of the current or the previous season; and if the cotton be mixed or damaged, or consist of pickings, the fact in either case shall be stated in the description. Whoever shall cause to be entered in the said register, or shall give an order that

the same may be entered in the said register, a false description of cotton brought for compression, and whoever shall aid and abet in the making of such false entry, shall be liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding 1000 rs., or to imprisonment of either description which may extend to six months, or to both. Government may from time to time authorize, by any order passed in that behalf, the omission from the description required by this section of such of the particulars enumerated therein as it shall be found expedient to omit, and to revoke any such order. All orders and revocations made under this section shall be published in the 'Government Gazette.'

Now, suppose the press-man keep this report right, is he to press mixed, &c., cotton or not? If not, then what is the use of the Clauses 16 and 17, allowing people to give a correct description of the cotton offered for pressing? And if he can press such cotton, then what is the use of Clause 13, which says the half-press shall not press at all mixed, &c., cotton? Why, instead of offering to press at half-press, if one goes to the whole press he can get his cotton pressed by giving correct description. Now, if the whole press can press mixed, &c., cotton, if honestly offered and described, then what is to become of the great object of sending pure cotton to England? And if not, then what is the object of requiring particulars and descriptions of the character of cotton offered to be mixed? Is this another trap, like Clause 5, to catch adulterated cotton, no matter whether honestly bought or sold, or offered for packing or not? Again, if the half-press man must not pack mixed, &c., cotton at all, is he to employ men to examine *every handful* of cotton that may be thrown into his press, or otherwise—how is he to prevent any mixture, &c., getting into his press? When a large number of bales, in busy times, are pushed for pressing, how is it at all possible for him to examine every *bit* of cotton, or he must get into a scrape in allowing a few stones or a quantity of mixed cotton getting into the box?

Again, Clause 18 enjoins to stamp the description of cotton, whether "mixed, damaged, or pickings," as the case may be, meaning, therefore, naturally that such cotton could be passed. If so, what is become of the object of sending only pure un-

mixed cotton to England? If that be not the object, then what is the good of all the legislation for mixture, &c., so long as it is honestly offered? If dishonesty alone is intended to be punished, and what is honestly offered is allowed to be sold or packed, then what is the good of all the inspection and legislation. The buyer has only to take care of himself that he is not cheated, and if cheated he can get the seller punished under the penal code.

Clause 21 provides for the inspector stopping wet cotton being pressed. Is it to be provided, then, that every press shall have an inspector staying near it to see that no wet cotton goes in? How many men are going to be employed for this purpose? How many more will be employed to see that every cultivator does not mix, &c., that every dealer does not mix, &c., that every half-press does not press mixed cotton, &c.? And if there are not enough men, many may escape the clutches of this Act, and Liverpool and Manchester may after all be deprived of pure, unmixed cotton. The Act provides that cotton pressed in native states must be so marked "Pressed in Native States" (Clause 4), and then there is an end of the matter. Merchants know that cotton is not purchased here on trust of marks. They may, as much as they can, get cotton pressed in native states, and so far escape the annoyance of this Act. On the other hand, after all, this country may get bad cotton; so here is encouragement to traders in native states, and discouragement to those in the British territories.

The question is simply this:—If this Act intended to send cotton in pure, unmixed state only to Liverpool, then many of the clauses seem not only useless, but actually stultifying. If not, and if the object be to prevent dishonest dealing only, and that the thing sold be described rightly, then the penal law of the country is enough for the object.

I confess I fail to perceive the real principle or object of the Bill.

Then, again, what is all this for? Whether a bale is marked "Native shipped," or any mark of quality, does the buyer in Liverpool at all depend upon any mere marks or stamps? Does he not look out for himself? Does he not buy according to samples drawn from the bales themselves? and if any bales turn

out unequal to sample, does he not come down upon the seller? Is he so green that he pays the price of fair for inferior cotton, or of Dbollera for inferior variety, or of pure cotton for mixed cotton, because the shipper chooses to call his cotton anything he likes? This is really giving very poor credit to the intelligence and business ways of the people of Liverpool and Manchester. Not only does the Liverpool or Manchester buyer not buy on trust of marks and stamps, but he even discounts any possible risk. Though two shipments may have the same sampling, yet, if the purchaser has not the experience of the shipper, he actually pays less for what is called "native shipments," as contrasted with "merchant shipments," that is, shipments of English houses, upon the ground that native shipments are not always very uniform in their turn-out. So, the manufacturer knows what he is about, and the native shipper learns his own interest. Those native shipments which are known in the market as good, command their price. The consignments to my firm are all native shipments, and we have sold a parcel at 12½d. to ¾d., on 23rd August last, the highest price paid this year for Indian cotton. The short of it is, the English buyer does not need protection at the hands of the Bombay Government that he may not be cheated.

But it may be urged, we want pure cotton to keep our ground in the English market. Now, howsoever pure you may try to keep your cotton, will you not have different qualities? and is not the price paid according to quality? It is not the pureness of the cotton that will keep the ground. If any time America produces four million bales, or more, what would the manufacturer care for pure cotton unless its staple is equal to the American, and it is comparatively cheaper? In 1860 what was the fate of Indian cotton, when America produced a large crop? Had it not been for the Continental demand, "Surats" would have been completely a "drug." Improve staple, and produce cheap. *This* is what is most wanted. *This* is what would confer *permanent* benefit on the cotton trade. This Act will not do so, unless it also punishes cultivators for not producing long staple and cheap cotton. What does Manchester say? *Immediately* after the American war ceased, the report of the Cotton



Supply Association of 1865 gives clear warning thus:—"India has now arrived at the period when an improved quality must be *grown*, or the cotton of that country will command attention *only* when better descriptions cannot be obtained."\* The Continent alone will be Indian cotton's salvation perhaps.

It appears that, instead of wasting energy and money on mere purity, which is able to take care of itself, the efforts of Government (if Government think it their duty to help) should be directed to the improvement of cultivation, and of *the staple*, and towards cheapness of production; to have more work like that of Mr. Rivett-Carnac, than that of inquisitorial inspectors and policemen, having the power of searching every place, if they could only say they had reason to suspect mixed cotton stored therein (Clause 23). "The Imperial interests" depend entirely on *improvement of staple and cheap cost of production*. Manchester men will not touch Indian cotton with their little fingers when they can get better cotton abundantly from elsewhere. As the price falls, by increased supplies from America, the inducement to the cultivator to increase cultivation or improve quality will be diminished, and any troubles from an Act like this will scare him away. There is already a cry to increase the growth of food. The necessity therefore to inspire confidence, instead of striking terror, becomes greater every day.

There is again this important question remaining to be put. Is it good policy to go against the unmistakable wishes of a people? The whole native community is dead against this Act. The natives are interested in getting pure cotton, not only as merchants, but as being, I think, the principal shareholders in the cotton mills of Bombay. A large majority of European merchants, as represented by the Chamber of Commerce, are also against the Act, but, what seems to be very striking, the Hon. Mr. Tucker (an Executive as well as a Legislative Councillor) and Mr. Foggo (formerly a member of the Legislative Council) broadly assert, which does not appear to have been yet contradicted, that (I give the Hon. Mr. Tucker's own words), "except in this Council and among the officials of the cotton department, I have not been

\* The italics are mine.

able to find a single person who approved of the Bill in its entirety. If the opinions of those who are engaged in the civil administration of this country had been obtained, I believe it would have been found to be adverse to the measure in its present form. I form this conclusion from what has been stated to me by those whom I have had an opportunity of consulting."

Again, great fear has been expressed that the Act will lead to much oppression. I have always contested that the natives, on an average, are like any other people under similar circumstances; I mean, therefore, no disparagement, but when subordinate officials are armed with power, and have every temptation to profit by it, the dishonest man will find it worth his while to keep the watchman in good humour with him. The poor and the innocent will not seldom be victims. I was, indeed, very glad to find His Excellency defending the subordinate servants, but I don't think we are prepared to say that Moofussil administration is yet of the best, and that there is not much room for improvement. In that case powers like those in this Act, and which offer much temptation to corruption, require to be given with care and under *very urgent* necessity. Under the old Act instances are given in which innocent persons have suffered punishment before receiving acquittal by the High Court. Only the other day, very lately, His Excellency in Council passed the resolution that the practice of charging 100 per cent. per annum interest on arrears of land tax, as a fine, had been oppressively used.

Many things there are in the Moofussil requiring check and improvement. Let there not be such power added as is calculated to increase the temptation to corrupt and be corrupted. I do not at all mean to blame the British rule for the present defects of the Moofussil administration, except, that by this time more could have been, than has been hitherto, done for its improvement. Still I acknowledge, with gratitude, that lately much is being done. The salaries of native judges increased, examination standard raised, more attention to complaints of abuses, such as the above-alluded-to circumstance of 100 per cent. per annum interest, redistribution of districts,

to make justice more accessible and administration easier, greater desire to employ University graduates, Small Cause Courts, Local Small Public Works by Local Cess, Criminal Code, &c. I know well the difficulties. As the more extensive employment of educated natives of character will progress; as public opinion will gain strength, and the conduct of officials be more subjected to the criticism of such public opinion; as railways will advance, and with them, by irrigation and other necessary public works, prosperity will increase; as education will extend, and the general enlightenment of the people progress—then will the people be more able to take care of themselves, and Moofussil administration become more perfect. With such materials as are now employed, and with the present state of society, it is no wonder that the administration is defective, but it is no use ignoring the fact. It must be taken into account in cases like the present under discussion. I think if all energy be directed to the removal of the material obstacles, and promotion of material improvements, trade can be safely left to take care of its morals, subject to the ordinary laws of the country, general progress of knowledge, and self-interest, unless a special case is made out of exceptional outrage or debasement in any particular instance. If in 1842, 1851, and 1862 matters were bad, there was interference. Nobody says they are so now; then interference should cease, as other important and powerful influences have begun to operate.

There is one other point which gives a colour of making race distinction. Mr. Tucker believes that Europeans cannot be punished under this Act. His Excellency the Governor says that is a doubtful point, and says that if such prove to be the case, proper remedy shall be provided. With this declaration, perhaps, it is no good to dispute about this point.

The subject of the cotton trade of India is of vital importance—everything that has any likelihood of checking its increase or improvement must be very carefully and dispassionately considered. I therefore invite all gentlemen who have an interest in India and in the cotton industry of this country, whether members of this Association or not, to attend the meeting of the East India Association, on the 21st inst., at Westminster Palace

Hotel, at half-past seven p.m., to discuss this paper. I circulate this paper beforehand that it may have fuller consideration than what merely listening to the reading of it at the meeting for half-an-hour will admit of, and that the whole time of the meeting may be devoted to the discussion. It is not at all my object or desire to have a one-sided view taken of this important subject. I therefore particularly solicit those to attend who have a different opinion. All my desire is that the subject may receive such thorough sifting that the Secretary of State for India may be helped to come to a sound judgment, having both official and non-official views before him for his consideration. I shall send copies of this paper to the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Liverpool, to the Cotton Supply Association, to the Cotton Brokers' Associations of Liverpool and London, and to East India merchants, and I trust they will respond to my request to give a fair and thorough discussion to this important matter.

My paper on the Indian Civil Service, which is fixed to be read on the 31st inst., will be postponed, so as to allow any adjourned meeting upon this subject being held if necessary. Those gentlemen who take an interest in this important subject of cotton trade, but may find it very inconvenient to attend the meeting, I request to send their opinions in writing, to be read at the meeting.

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THE COTTON FRAUDS BILL, AS PASSED ON  
OCTOBER 21.

A Bill for the Prevention of Adulteration of Cotton and the better Suppression of Frauds in the Cotton Trade in the Presidency of Bombay.

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the law for the suppression of fraudulent practices in the cotton trade within the territories subject to the Government of the Presidency of Bombay, and to make provision for the application of the fees leviable on cotton exported therefrom. It is enacted as follows:—

I. (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863 is hereby repealed. Provided that all appointments made and licences granted under (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863 shall be held valid for the purposes of this Act, and that any penalties incurred under (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863 previous to the coming into operation of this Act shall be leviable under this Act.

II. Whoever adulterates or deteriorates cotton by mixing therewith any seed, dirt, stones, or other foreign matter, or by mixing cleaned with uncleared cotton, commonly called cuppas; and whoever mixes cotton of different varieties, that is to say, exotic and indigenous cotton, or old and new cotton, that is cotton of the growth of different seasons, and whoever exposes cotton to dew with the object of increasing its weight, or by any other means fraudulently or dishonestly increases or attempts to increase its weight, shall for a first offence be punishable, on conviction, with fine not exceeding one hundred rupees, and for any subsequent offence with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, or with a fine, or with both.

III. Whoever packs in a docra or other package exceeding 84 lbs. in weight, and not being a half-pressed bale, or full-pressed bale, hereinafter mentioned, two different varieties of cotton, that is to say, exotic and indigenous cotton, or old and

new cotton, that is cotton of the growth of different seasons, shall be punishable, on conviction, as in Section II. of this Act.

IV. It shall be lawful for Government to direct, by any order made in that behalf, that all docras, or half-pressed bales of cotton coming from any Native States shall, subject to such rules as the Government may from time to time direct, be stamped on entering the territories subject to the Government of Bombay, with the name of the Native State from which such cotton is brought. Such order to have effect from the date of the publication thereof in the 'Government Gazette.' And no full-pressed bales of cotton from such Native States shall be allowed to be exported from the territories subject to the Government of Bombay, unless or until they shall have been stamped with the words, "Pressed in Native States" in letters of the English character, not less than two inches long. Any person refusing to allow such cotton to be stamped as directed by this section, or who shall export such cotton without being so stamped, shall be punishable, on conviction, as in Section II.

V. Whoever fraudulently or dishonestly sells, or offers for sale, any cotton adulterated, deteriorated, mixed, or increased in weight, as described in Section II. of this Act, shall be punishable, on conviction, with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, or with fine, or with both.

VI. All cotton which has formed the subject of a conviction under Sections II., III., or Section V. of this Act, may be confiscated or otherwise disposed of, under rules sanctioned by Government for the guidance of officers appointed to administer this Act.

VII. No press used, or capable of use, for the purpose of compressing cotton shall be so used without a licence obtained under (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863, or under this Act, in the manner and subject to the conditions hereinafter described; and any person who shall without such licence so use, or attempt to use, such press, shall be punishable, on conviction,

tion, with fine not exceeding one hundred rupees for every day during which he shall so use, or attempt to use, such press: Provided that whenever a licence shall be granted upon change of ownership, or possession of the press occurring during the currency of the period for which a licence shall have been granted or renewed, the fees specified in Schedule A shall not be levied a second time.

VIII. A licence for the working of a press to press cotton may, on application by any person, be granted by the collector of the district within which such press is to be worked, or by such other officer as the Government may empower in that behalf, upon such collector or other officer being satisfied that the applicant is in possession of the press to be licensed; and such licence shall be subject to such rules as Government may from time to time prescribe; and shall expire and be renewable upon the 1st January of the year next ensuing. The collector or other officer aforesaid may, for reasons which he shall state in writing to the person applying for such licence or renewal, refuse to grant or to renew the licence; and whoever after such refusal shall work, or permit to be worked, any press, shall be liable to the penalty prescribed in Section VII. of this Act.

IX. It shall be lawful for the Cotton Inspector-in-Chief, with the previous sanction of Government, anything contained in this Act, or in (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863 notwithstanding, to annul and withdraw any licence granted for the use of a press, upon proof, to the satisfaction of the Cotton Inspector-in-Chief, of any failure made by the licensee to comply with the conditions of his licence, or upon the conviction of such licensee of any offence under this Act.

X. For all purposes of this Act, the licensee shall be held to be the owner of the press for which he has obtained a licence. In all cases the press shall be liable for any penalties imposed on the licensee under this Act.

XI. Every licence issued under this Act shall specify the number of presses for which the same is granted, the locality in which they are situated, whether they are half-presses or



full-presses, and the power employed for working them, according to a written statement which shall accompany the application for such licence; and for every press so licensed, or the licence of which shall be so renewed, a fee shall be levied at the rate set forth in Schedule A to this Act annexed; and upon the removal to another locality, unless by the written permission of the collector of the district, or other officer empowered by Government as aforesaid, of a press included in any licence, or upon change of the power employed for working the same, it shall be necessary for the licensee to obtain a new licence, subject to the conditions aforesaid, failing which he shall be liable to the penalty prescribed in Section VII.

XII. Whoever shall offer for packing in a half-pressed bale cotton adulterated, deteriorated, or mixed as described in Section II., shall for a first offence be punishable, on conviction, with a fine not exceeding one hundred rupees, and on conviction for any subsequent offence with a fine not exceeding five hundred rupees; and all such cotton offered may be confiscated or disposed of under rules sanctioned by Government for the guidance of officers appointed to administer this Act.

XIII. Whoever, being a licensee of a half-press, shall knowingly press, or attempt to press, or allow to be pressed, cotton adulterated, mixed, or deteriorated in the manner specified in Section II., shall be liable to have his licence withdrawn by the collector of the district or other officer empowered under Section VIII. to grant licences, and shall for a first offence be punishable, on conviction, with a fine not exceeding five hundred rupees, and for any subsequent offence shall be punishable, on conviction, with a fine not exceeding one thousand rupees.

XIV. Clause 1.—It shall be incumbent on every applicant for a licence under this Act to lodge with the collector, or other officer empowered to issue such licence, a cloth, parchment, or paper impressed or marked either with some distinctive mark, not less than one foot square, or with his name, or that of his firm or company, in letters not less than one inch and a half long, which name for any full-press shall be in the English

language, and such name or mark shall be called a press-mark.

Clause 2.—Every licensee of a half-press shall be bound to mark, or cause to be marked with such press-mark, and also with the name of the place where the bale has been pressed, every bale compressed by any press in his possession; and every licensee of a full-press shall be bound to mark, or cause to be marked with such press-mark, and also with figures indicating the date of pressing, every bale compressed by any press in his possession. Such press-mark and name and figures shall be marked on the wrapper or cloth underlying the fastenings or bands of such bale; and for every case of failure so to mark any bale, such licensee shall be liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding one hundred rupees, and his licence, if it be so adjudged by the magistrate, shall be suspended, or shall become null and void.

XV. Whoever shall counterfeit or imitate any press-mark for the use of which a licence under this Act shall have been granted, or shall fraudulently alter or remove any press-mark or name or figures impressed under Clause 2 of Section XIV. of this Act, or shall pack any bale of cotton in any cloth or wrapper bearing a press-mark which shall not have been licensed to use, shall be liable, on conviction, to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or to fine, or to both.

XVI. It shall be the duty of every licensee of a full-press to keep a daily register of all cotton brought for compression at any press under his control; and to require from the owner of such cotton, or his agent, a description of the same, previous to its compression, which description shall be entered in the said register, and certified by the signature of the owner or his agent, in the presence of the register-keeper as witness; and it shall not be lawful to press such cotton until it shall first have been entered and certified as aforesaid. The daily register shall be in the form of Schedule B, hereunto annexed; and any licensee of such press who shall fail to keep such a register shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 500 rs.; and any such licensee who, after

notice in writing given by an inspector under this Act, shall so fail shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 2500 rs., and his licence withdrawn.

XVII. The description of cotton to be given and entered in the daily register, as required by Section XVI. of this Act, shall include the name by which such cotton is usually sold in or shipped from Bombay, and shall state whether it be old or new cotton, that is, the growth of a current or a previous season; and if the cotton be mixed, or damaged, or consist of pickings, the fact in either case shall be stated in the description. Whoever shall cause to be entered in the said register, or shall give an order that the same may be entered in the said register, a false description of cotton brought for compression, and whoever shall aid and abet in the making of such false entry, shall be liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding 1000 rs., or to imprisonment of either description, which may extend to six months, or to both. Government may from time to time authorize by any order passed in that behalf the omission from the description required by this section of such of the particulars enumerated therein as it shall be found expedient to omit, and to revoke any such order. All orders and revocations made under this section shall be published in the 'Government Gazette.'

XVIII. It shall be the duty of every licensee of a full-press to cause to be stamped with the word "mixed," "damaged," or "pickings," as the case may be, all full-pressed bales described in the manner required in this Act as cotton mixed or damaged, or consisting of pickings, respectively; and for every case of failure so to stamp any bale containing such cotton, the licensee shall be liable, on conviction, for each offence, to a fine not exceeding 100 rs., and his licence, if it be so adjudged by the magistrate, shall be suspended, or shall become null and void. Whoever shall fraudulently alter or remove any such stamp shall be liable to the penalty prescribed in Section XV.

XIX. It shall be the duty of every licensee of a full-press to deliver to any person taking delivery of pressed cotton a certificate in the form of Schedule C hereunto annexed, em-

bodying an extract from the register so far as it relates to the pressed cotton so delivered; and it shall be lawful for the said licensee to charge on all pressed cotton a registration fee of eight annas, and for any quantity in excess of 50 bales an additional fee of two pies per bale so in excess.

XX. Whoever knowingly sells or hypothecates, or attempts to sell or hypothecate, any bales under a false certificate, and whoever uses any lawfully-granted certificate, knowing that the same was granted with reference to bales other than those with reference to which it is used, shall be liable, on conviction, to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

XXI. It shall be lawful for any Inspector, or any other persons authorized by him in that behalf, to require, by notice in writing, the licensee of a press to stop the compression of any cotton in a wet state; and any licensee of a press who shall thereafter allow such cotton to be compressed in its wet state, shall be liable, on conviction, for each offence to a fine not exceeding 100 rs.; and his licence, if it be so adjudged by the magistrate, shall be suspended, or shall become null and void.

XXII. Government may appoint an officer to be called Cotton Inspector-in-Chief for the purpose of carrying out the objects of this Act.

XXIII. Government may also appoint such and so many officers, to be styled cotton inspectors and cotton sub-inspectors, as shall appear expedient; and it shall be the duty of such officers to suppress the use of unlicensed presses for compressing cotton, and to examine at all times during the working of the presses the register to be kept under Section XVI. of this Act; and to examine cotton brought for compression, or being pressed, or exposed, or intended for sale; and in the execution of any such duty, such officer shall at all times have access to every workshop, warehouse, storehouse, or other building or enclosure within which any gin or press for cleaning or compressing cotton at work or prepared for work is situated, or within which cotton is stored or deposited, provided that such officer shall have reasonable ground to suppose

that cotton as to which any offence under this Act shall have been committed shall be stored or deposited; and if the licensee of any press for compressing cotton, or his servant or agent, shall be convicted of having offered any obstruction to such officer in the execution of his duty, his licence may be adjudged by a magistrate to be suspended for a fixed time, or to have become null and void, in addition to any punishment to which he may be liable under the Indian Penal Code.

XXIV. It shall be lawful, anything contained in (Bombay) Act VII. of 1867 notwithstanding, for Government to create a separate establishment, consisting of such and so many police officers as may seem fit, whose special duty it shall be to protect the cotton trade from thefts, frauds, and other offences, committed by boatmen and others along the coast, or in the ports, havens, rivers, creeks, and islands within the territories subject to the Government of Bombay. Such establishment shall be subject to such rules regarding appointment and dismissal as Government shall from time to time sanction. The provisions of (Bombay) Act VII. of 1867, Section 43, shall apply to police officers appointed under this section. Nothing in this section contained shall be deemed to affect the general control of the magistrate of the district.

XXV. All officers appointed under Sections XXIII. and XXIV. shall in their official capacities be subject to the Cotton Inspector-in-Chief, and shall further, in the city of Bombay, be under the control of the Collector of Bombay, and elsewhere under the control of the collector of the district in which they hold their appointments; the mode in which such control shall be exercised by the collectors being determined from time to time by Government.

XXVI. All officers appointed under this Act shall receive such salaries as Government may deem fit and assign from the funds raised under this Act, or under (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863; and all officers so appointed shall for neglect or misconduct be liable to suspension or dismissal by order of Government, or of any officer to whom Government may delegate authority in that behalf.

XXVII. It shall be lawful for any officer appointed under this Act to detain or take samples of any cotton with respect to which an offence under this Act shall appear to him to have been committed, and to require any police officer to detain such cotton, and such police officer shall thereupon be bound to assist and to detain such cotton pending the order of any magistrate of police within the town of Bombay, and elsewhere by any magistrate with powers not inferior to those of a subordinate magistrate of the 1st class, who shall be empowered to make such order respecting the custody and production of the cotton as he shall think proper.

XXVIII. Whereas it is found that the cotton of the Southern Maratha Country is seriously injured and depreciated in consequence of unskilled workmen attempting the repair of the saw gins employed in cleaning the same, and that unskilled and incompetent workmen represent themselves as specially authorized by the superintendent of the Dharwar Factory to repair such gins; it is hereby enacted, that whoever shall falsely state that the superintendent of the Dharwar Factory, or any other officer of Government, has declared him, by certificate or otherwise, to be a competent workman for the repair of saw gins, or shall exhibit any forged certificate to that effect, or shall otherwise fraudulently persuade the possessor of any saw gin that he is authorized by any officer of Government to repair such saw gins, shall be liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding fifty rupees for each offence.

XXIX. No person offending against this Act shall be proceeded against except by summons on information laid by an officer appointed under this Act or some other person. And without the warrant of a magistrate it shall not be competent to any inspector to open any bale finally pressed for export out of British India, provided that nothing contained in this Act shall be deemed to affect the provisions of Sections 68, 54, and 106 of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

XXX. It shall be lawful, anything contained in (Bombay) Act IV. of 1862, or in (Bombay) Act II. of 1865 notwithstanding, for the Government to establish markets, to be vested

in the Government, for the sale of cotton, and to defray the expenses of the same out of the revenues arising under this Act, and to prescribe rules and regulations not inconsistent with this Act for the management, occupation, and general regulations of the market so established, and for the imposition of penalties on persons convicted of the breach of any rule or regulation as aforesaid: Provided that no penalty so imposed shall exceed a fine of fifty rupees or imprisonment of either description for eight days. Such rules may be modified from time to time, and no such rule or alteration of any such rule shall have effect until the same shall have been published in the 'Government Gazette.' All courts and magistrates shall take judicial notice of all rules and regulations made under this section.

XXXI. There shall be levied upon every bale of cotton exported from any port or place in the Presidency of Bombay to any port or place other than in British India, a fee not exceeding four annas, and all fees so levied shall be paid to the credit of Government, and shall form a separate local fund. The fund so formed shall be chargeable with the salaries of the officers appointed under (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863, or under this Act, and of their establishment, the cost of collecting the fees leviable under this Act, and other expenses for carrying out the foregoing provisions of this Act. Any surplus that may remain after providing for these objects may, at the discretion of Government, be applied for purposes immediately connected with the improvement of the cultivation and preparation of cotton.

XXXII. It shall be lawful for Government to transfer to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and to the Resident at Hyderabad, for expenditure on the objects contemplated in his Act, sums not exceeding in the aggregate 40,000 rs. in any one year from the funds constituted by this Act in respect of cotton exported from the Central Provinces and the Assigned Districts of His Highness the Nizam.

XXXIII. All sums expended with the sanction of Government from the proceeds of the fees levied under (Bombay)



Act IX. of 1863 before the coming into operation of this Act, for any of the purposes to which the surplus fund levied under this Act may be applied, or for any other purposes for the improvement of cotton, shall be deemed to have been legally expended, anything to the contrary in (Bombay) Act IX. of 1863 notwithstanding.

XXXIV. The fee leviable under Section XXXI. of this Act upon cotton exported from the Presidency of Bombay to any port or place other than in British India shall be levied by the officers of Customs, and the general provisions of any law for the time being in force for the refund of Customs duties shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the levy of the said fee.

XXXV. All offences against this Act may be tried, and all confiscations and fines under the provisions thereof may, within the town of Bombay, be adjudicated by any magistrate of police, and elsewhere by any magistrate with powers not inferior to those of a subordinate magistrate of the first class; and all fines may be levied by distraint and sale of the offender's goods by warrant under the hand of such magistrates, and shall otherwise be subject to the rules in relation to fines and the commutation and levy thereof prescribed by the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure: Provided that in the infliction of the penalties provided by this Act, no magistrate shall exceed the limits of his ordinary criminal jurisdiction, and that all fines and fees recovered, and the proceeds of all cotton confiscated under this Act, shall be carried to the credit of the fund constituted by Section XXX. of this Act.

XXXVI. Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to prevent any person from being prosecuted under any other law for any offence made punishable by this Act, or from being liable under any other law to any other or higher punishment than is provided for such offence under this Act: Provided that no person shall be punished twice for the same offence.

XXXVII. Nothing in this Act shall affect the civil rights of any parties defrauded by any offender against this Act, but they may sue for the same as if this Act had not been passed.

XXXVIII. The name "press" when used in this Act shall be

held to include every kind of machinery used for the purpose of compressing cotton. The words "full-press" shall mean a press used for finally pressing cotton for export. The words "half-press" shall mean a press other than a full-press. The words "full-pressed bale" and "half-pressed bale" shall respectively mean any bale pressed by a full-press and by a half-press. The word "gin" shall be held to include "churkas" and all other machines used for the purpose of cleaning cotton.

XXXIX. This Act shall apply to all the territories subject to the Government of Bombay.

XL. This Act may be cited as "The Bombay Cotton Act, 1869."

#### SCHEDULE A.

	Fees leviable.
For every press worked by steam or other power . .	Rs. 20
For every press worked by animal labour, and not by steam . . . . .	" 5
For every press worked by manual labour alone . .	" 1

[Schedule B is the Daily Register; and Schedule C the Certificate to be given by the Press Company.]

DISCUSSION ON MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S  
PAPER.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI said the paper having been circulated among the members, he would not read it, but would only say that it had been necessarily brought forward rather in a hurry, because it was desirable to lose no time in approaching the India Office on the subject. He hoped nobody would think he had the presumption to put himself forward to criticize, as a lawyer, an Act prepared by some eminent lawyer; but he looked at the Act as a merchant would look at it and understand it. After inviting discussion on his paper, he stated that he had sent to the Under-Secretary of State the following letter on 27th November, 1869:—

“Sir,—The great importance of the subject of the cotton trade of India will, I trust, be considered a sufficient justification for my troubling you with this letter. I beg that you will kindly submit to His Grace the Secretary of State for India in Council, my request that His Grace’s decision on “The Bombay Cotton Act of 1869” may be delayed till the East India Association has an opportunity of expressing an opinion on it. I assure you, Sir, that I do not wish to bring this subject before the East India Association with the object of making any vexatious agitation; it is only because the subject is of great importance that I desire that it should be discussed as fully as possible. I beg that the decision of His Grace be delayed to the middle or end of next January.”

To which he had received the following reply:—

“December 9, 1869.

“Sir,—I am directed by the Duke of Argyll to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th of November, praying that the decision of the Secretary of State on the Bombay Cotton Act of 1869 may be delayed until the East India Association has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it. In reply, I am directed to inform you that the Act to which you allude has not yet been received from the Government of India.

“I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“HERMAN MERIVALE.”

Letters of excuse had been received from the following noblemen and gentlemen :—Marquis of Salisbury; R. N. Fowler, Esq., M.P.; Sir Charles Wingfield, M.P.; Rt. Hon. Colonel Wilson Patten, M.P.; Colonel Sykes, M.P.; Mr. George Campbell; Sir Thomas Bazley, Bart., M.P.; Mr. Andrew Cassels, the Mayor of Oldham; Mr. J. W. Kaye (India Office); Mr. Murray Gladstone, and Mr. Hyde Clarke. He had received letters from four gentlemen giving their opinions on the paper. Mr. Dorington, of the well-known and respectable firm of George Frazer, Son, and Co., Manchester, and a member of the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, wrote as follows :—

“I duly received, and have carefully read over, the Supplement to the ‘Asiatic,’ containing the paper which you purpose reading on the 21st inst., at the meeting of the East India Association. I think you fairly show that there was no special necessity for the passing of the Cotton Frauds Bill. No demand for such legislation having been expressed from Liverpool, nor from Manchester, whence it would naturally have been expressed, had such a grievance existed as it may be presumed this Bill was intended to remedy. Also, that the effect will rather be to discourage than to encourage cotton cultivation in India; and this would be a great calamity. The provisions of the Bill you also show to be tyrannical, oppressive, contradictory, and practically unworkable. Penal legislation specially directed to any one trade is, in my opinion, almost indefensible under any circumstances; it is simply ridiculous when applied to one of the greatest interest and of the greatest growth of any in India, with a future, the extent of which who can estimate? The Bill ought to be forthwith repealed, and the seeking of redress, where any may be wanting, remitted to the ordinary tribunals and the general laws of the country.”

Messrs. Whitaker, Whitehead, and Co., a well-known firm of cotton brokers in Liverpool, wrote as follows :—

“We have read with much interest the paper you kindly sent to our Mr. Harrison, and which is to form the subject of discussion at the meeting of the East India Association on the 21st inst. In the general views you express with regard to the Act passed by the Legislative Council of Bombay in October last, we cordially concur. It is difficult to understand the principle upon which one branch of trade is singled out for special legislation; and, as you clearly show in its working, the Act, as it now stands, would be attended with

glaring inconsistencies. The consumer here is well protected from the injurious effects of adulteration, &c., and as soon as those most nearly identified with the matter see it to be their interest to adopt the proper remedies, the thing will be put an end to, but not till then. It must, as you say, be brought to the unfailing business test of 'self-interest,' and surely the merchants in the Bombay trade require no extraneous aid to induce them to conduct their business in the way that is most likely to result profitably. Now a word as to the consumers in this country. A reference to the printed rules of the Liverpool Cotton Brokers' Association (a copy of which we sent you this year) will show that Rules 45 to 47 are specially formed to protect spinners from loss by these frauds. We have had in some cases lately to make an allowance to the buyer, because on opening the bales the bulk of cotton proved more seedy than was represented by the samples drawn here, and by which we sold the parcel. Different spinners have remarked to us upon the large amount of seed found in the Comptah cotton this year, and which they regret the more on account of the superior quality of this description when free from this defect. In buying the cotton, however, an ample allowance—often as much as thirty per cent.—is made for the possible loss in working, and the spinner is quite able to protect his own interests in the matter. Much of the Broach has been extensively adulterated with sand this year, but buyers have only paid from 6d. to 7½d. per pound for such parcels. Instances of inattention to the growth of good descriptions of cotton are to be found in the Brazils, and also in Egypt. In both countries the introduction and mixing of American seed has caused a great falling off in the staple, but as this fault is rather extending than otherwise, it would seem as if it paid the grower better, and in all cases it will be found that the *interests* of those engaged in the trade will determine their course of action. While fully admitting the necessity that exists for improving the growth and preparation of Indian cotton, we are of opinion that individual effort is more likely to operate beneficially in this direction, than any number of laws which the Imperial Legislature may see fit to pass."

Mr. William Tayler, late Commissioner of Patna, wrote as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—I write a line to express my sincere regret that the continued confinement to my room will prevent my attending the meeting to-morrow evening, and taking part in the discussion on the Cotton Frauds Act. I have read your paper attentively, and must say I cannot see that any good or sufficient case is made out to justify

special legislation; but my greatest objection to the Act is, that it will require, in the carrying out, the incessant intervention of corrupt, or at least corruptible subordinates, and thus be perverted into an engine of oppression and tyranny. There may, of course, be arguments in favour of the Act, which we have not heard, and if so, I trust they will be elicited in to-morrow's discussion."

And Mr. Briggs had sent the following letter:—

"Dear Sir,—I received your circular, requesting my attendance at the discussion this evening. I regret that previous engagements preclude the possibility of my presence, but would gladly take part in the discussion if I may be allowed to do so in writing. I have read this very interesting and able paper with great earnestness and care, and from the facts it contains I am confirmed, first, in my convictions that too much Government interference with matters which belong to 'the every-day business of life,' is a curse, not only to India, but to every country where such a policy is adopted; second, I am therefore of opinion that the Cotton Frauds Act is not necessary, and will not touch the root of the evils under which India and England are groaning and growling, viz.: *the want of a policy which tends to make every acre (cultivated for that plant) produce its 300 to 400 pounds of cotton, in place of 40 to 70 pounds only*; third, the interests of India and England are identical. We are all of us painfully aware as to how *utterly inoperative* those penal enactments for the prevention of adulteration of food and drink, even in this country, are. In the face of this, why trouble India with the same festering sore? I quite agree with Mr. Smith, of Liverpool, that, 'with a more natural state of things universal adulteration should cease.' I also agree with the writer of the paper, also Sir J. Lawrence and others, that the natives are 'fully alive to their interests, if they had only proper guidance, encouragement, and example' in developing the productive powers of India. Even Mr. Campbell himself admits that they (the natives) are gifted with the same human nature as ourselves. I also agree with Mr. Heywood's report, as quoted by the writer, namely, that 'when fair-dealing Europeans settle in the interior, and point the way to improvement, whether in new modes of agriculture, trade, or otherwise, the natives of India are sufficiently alive to their own interests to be willing to adopt all such practical improvements as tend to their profit.' The question then appears to be *one of removing the obstacles to the 'settling of fair-dealing Europeans in the interior.'* Well, how is this to be done? for this is the only thing that will enable you to 'bell the cat.' My advice is that the Government at once adopt a policy of free trade

in the strictest sense of the term. I mean free trade in the *soil first*, and then in everything the soil produces, by the blessing of God, and the application of the hand and intellect of man."

MR. RUSTOMJEE VICAJEE.—The paper prepared by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji unfolds the state of cotton trade in India and England, and the merits or otherwise of the Act under discussion, with that ability and precision which is highly creditable to him. Now the question is, what could have induced the authorities in Bombay to pass an Act from the operation of which mischief, oppression, and disturbance in the cotton trade, with serious detriment to India and England, are expected? I think it is more the fault of the merchants themselves, who have at times exaggerated things, and have always cried for Government help to make their own responsibilities and burthen light. The paper laid before the meeting shows that there has been such a cry from the Chamber of Commerce and other merchants in Bombay, from 1842 down to 1862. Perhaps this frequent cry that Government should take an interest in adopting measures for the purity and improvement of cotton, might have induced the authorities to apply such harsh remedy by legislative enactment. This step, when taken by the Government of Bombay, appears to have opened the eyes of the merchants, who found themselves caught in the snare which they all along laid to blame others. No doubt there are worthy exceptions amongst the merchants who do take an interest in the improvement of cotton; but, generally speaking, amelioration of the staple has been left in the background by them in the excitement of unusual profits. However, at the latter stage of passing the Bill, it is evident from the debate that it had taken the shape of a party conflict. Severity of remarks from the opposers to the Bill appears to have compelled a stanch adherence to it by its advocates. I do not deny that party conflicts have been one of the causes of the grandness of England; but poor India is just springing into a new life, and has not reached that stage so as to benefit by a party conflict. However, it is to be hoped that a few years hence, or, at least, the next generation, will give a refreshing aspect. The subject then resolves itself into a question, *viz.*—Can the Act be allowed to have a full scope of opera-



tion? I need not say, after the facts so clearly and ably laid before the meeting by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that the result will be full of mischief, oppression, and disturbance in the cotton trade, and its cultivation. By its decrease and discouragement the ryots will not suffer so much, since their wants are few, as the manufacturing class in Manchester and elsewhere, and the cotton merchants of Bombay and England will do. On the other hand, "It is an ill wind that blows nobody good," and accordingly the grain will be more sown and sold cheaper, and relieve many an authority in the Moofussil from the anxiety of plunder of the grain-dealers' stores and shops, who have not hesitated to take advantage of the free-trade system in enormously raising the prices of grain. However, I desire it not to be understood that I advocate taking advantage of the Act in question, or recommend its adoption to make grain cheap. My ideas are quite foreign to it. I should like to see freedom and fair competition of all commodities; and their demand at home and abroad will regulate their growth. But if Government come between, and fetter the freedom of cultivation and trade, as the present Act is expected to do, we all *must* know what would be the result. In my humble opinion this is not an Act that could improve the quality and increase the quantity of cotton. My conviction is that, in a thoroughly civilized country, private individuals, such as merchants, farmers, &c., are the important parties to improve the cultivation and condition of trade, which is one of the sources of the grandness of a nation; but, in a country like India, the cultivation in a great measure rests with the cultivating class—the ryots. Because they have not reached the modern civilization, I do not consider them barbarous, as it has been a fashion with some people to style them. That they are mild and meek—I mean the ryots, particularly of the Deccan, of whom I could speak with confidence—must be known to many Indian officers who have anything to do with them; but they are ignorant on many subjects, and for many reasons; and, I believe, the ryots of other parts of India are more or less of a similar description. In such a condition of society merchants or private individuals cannot be, generally speaking, expected to make an impression on the minds of the

ryots; but somewhat of an authoritative persuasion with kind treatment is needed; and therefore the help of Government officers to that extent only, and not further, will be advisable. With this view I would, with all deference, beg to submit that the object contemplated in the Act, *viz.* improvement in the quality, which will, in consequence, create a demand for the increase in the quantity of cotton, can, with a very good effect, be realized by inviting the gathering of principal ryots at different and well-selected places during the annual tours of collectors, commissioners, and their assistants, and explaining to them by what means and ways the improvement in the growth of cotton could be effected and carried on. I think, particularly in those districts of the British provinces in which the revenue survey and the settlement of land, at least for some years, have been accomplished, the revenue work must be very light; and therefore the revenue officers can devote a part of their time and attention to giving lectures to the ryots on the subject of improvements and growth of cotton. For instance, a friend of mine, Mr. Brereton, the resident engineer of the Great India Peninsula Railway, who is now transferred elsewhere, used to do so at Goolburga, in the Deccan, almost every week, on a variety of subjects, more from philanthropic views and pleasure than on any other account, when that Zillah was under my charge. I have myself done so within my jurisdiction in the Rychore Doab, Shorapore Zilla, and the northern parts of His Highness's territories, which are now under my charge; and it is a source of pleasure to know that *vivâ voce* explanations on any subject to the ryots have a most beneficial effect; and I believe a perseverance in it is the best means of successfully achieving the object desired by the cotton trading community as well as by Government, instead of the Act now under discussion, leaving the penal code to deal with frauds or intentional adulteration of cotton.

Mr. PRAGJIE BHIMJEE said:—I am desirous of making a few observations regarding the new Bill passed. I have been connected with the cotton trade for some years. 1st. I see no necessity whatever for the Bill, or any interference of Government. 2nd. Should, however, it be argued that a Bill should

exist, then, I maintain, the old Bill, as it stood, has proved itself sufficient for the punishment of adulteration of cotton with a dishonest intent. 3rd. The Bill, as it now stands, is calculated to inflict punishment on the honest as well as the dishonest (*vide* Clause 2). 4th. The circumstance of the Bill having been made law, without previously allowing full opportunity to the cotton mercantile community to express an opinion, is a just ground of complaint, seeing that they only are the ones chiefly concerned. 5th. It is opposed to the general feelings of those who are well calculated to decide as to its necessity or otherwise; and we have abundant proof from India that the cotton now leaves the districts for this market in an untainted state. For instance: in the 'Homeward Mail,' 18th Dec., taken from the 'Englishman,' Nov. 17th, I find these words:—"We have the authority of the Cotton Commissioner that Indian cotton is now sent home untainted." I fully approve of all that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has adduced in argument against the adoption of the penal part of the Bill. He has shown us the opinions of the Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool and Manchester, and of the Cotton Supply Association of this country, where not a word is mentioned showing any necessity for such a Bill. I hold these opinions to be of much weight. I beg leave to give you further quotations from Indian papers, and other sources, entirely condemning the necessity of Government legislation or interference. Three petitions have been addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy, praying him not to give his sanction to the measure—one from the Chamber of Commerce, the other from the Bombay Association, and the third from the native merchants of Bombay.—The 'Homeward Mail' of 13th Dec. instant. Extract from the 'Englishman':—"The Cotton Frauds Bill, passed by the Legislative Council of Bombay, is also another instance of the uncalled-for and unnecessary interference of the Government with the operations of trade. If a Bill that strikes directly at the principles of free trade was ever passed in the present day, it should only be passed under the strongest necessity, and with the unanimous approval of all parties concerned in the trade. But this is not the case with the Cotton Frauds Bill. A strong majority of cotton merchants,

both European and native, have protested against it, and a petition is at this moment before His Excellency the Viceroy, earnestly requesting him to withhold his sanction from the proposed measure, and declaring emphatically that special legislation on the subject of cotton frauds is unnecessary, and injurious to the general interests of the cotton trade." The petition also states "that such a measure is opposed to the commercial policy which has now for many years been adopted in England, and that its probable consequence will be to interfere with and discourage, rather than promote, the cotton trade of Western India, at every stage of its progress, from the fields to the European market." From my own experience of some years in the cotton business, and my frequent conversations with the Liverpool leading brokers and merchants, I can confidently say that I have never heard or noticed any argument showing the necessity for further Government interference in this particular. I know from experience that inferior or mixed cotton has no difficulty of sale in the English market. The buyers are not purchasers in the dark. Not a pound of cotton do they purchase without first seeing and testing for themselves the quality and kind. Government was set to work to prevent fraud and adulteration in cotton by the voice of the mercantile community in 1863. That Bill has been in force some years—has proved effectual and sufficient. Manchester is satisfied with the present position of affairs, as can be seen by the following resolution, moved by S. R. Graves, Esq., M.P., seconded by A. Cassels, Esq., supported by E. Ashworth, Esq., at a meeting of the Cotton Supply Association, held at Manchester, on the 2nd November of this year, and carried:—"That this meeting has witnessed with great satisfaction the progress which has already been made in the cultivation of cotton in India, and desires to record its conviction that the measures adopted by the Association, and recommended to Government, are well calculated to accomplish the objects desired. The marked improvement which has taken place in the quality of Indian cotton, the increased care now bestowed upon its preparation for market, and the abandonment, to a great extent, of the fraudulent packing formerly so prevalent, afford the highest encouragement, and fully justify the

assurance which this meeting entertains, that eventually India will take a foremost place amongst our best sources of cotton supply." I submit it is desirable that this state of affairs be allowed to continue, instead of creating any dissatisfaction and alarm among the cotton trade.

Mr. ELLIOT said he knew nothing about the subject of cotton frauds, but he objected to the principle of Government interference in India as regarded the adulteration of any substance. As a planter, he saw very plainly that, if any interference were to take place as regarded cotton, it must be extended to other articles. It was a very common practice, for instance, for the natives to buy coffee and adulterate it, and then sell it again. Though adulteration was a very objectionable thing, he thought it was not a matter in which Government interference was advisable. As regarded not only the cultivation of cotton, but the cultivation of other produce in India, he had observed lately a tendency on the part of people at Manchester to interfere with the natives, and to suggest what they ought to do as regarded the cultivation of the soil. His head manager in India, who had formerly been a farmer in Roxburghshire, and therefore a good judge on all agricultural matters, told him that, when he first went out to India, he thought he could tell the natives a great deal about agriculture; but after a thorough investigation of their methods of cultivation, he could suggest no improvement in them, with the exception of a slight improvement in the present native plough. The men out in India who affected to teach the natives how to cultivate the soil had, many of them, left this country knowing nothing of agriculture themselves, and instead of investigating the means at the disposal of the natives, and considering whether they did not make the best use of those means, they ridiculed the native mode of culture because it did not quite accord with what they had been accustomed to in England, and suggested the introduction of ploughs from England, which could only be drawn by elephants. At the agricultural meetings in India a great deal of nonsense was talked. He thought the talk about teaching the natives how to cultivate their soil, how to plough, how to use their manure, and what machines to use, was all thrown away. As regarded

manure, for instance, the Duke of Argyll had laid some stress a short time ago upon the waste of manure involved in using cow-dung as fuel in India. From his observation and experience, and from the observation and experience of his head manager, he came to the conclusion that there was no waste in using the dung of lean cattle as fuel, and then returning the ashes to the soil. In this conclusion he was confirmed by Dr. Mackay, of Westminster Hospital, who assured him, from his chemical knowledge, that there was no loss as long as the ashes were returned to the soil. The Duke of Argyll, in expressing regret that manure should be wasted by its being used for fuel, had assumed that the manure was the manure of fat cattle, whereas there were only lean cattle in India, the dung from which cattle was valueless as manure.

Mr. HEWETT.—I have come over to England from India, having received instructions from a body of merchants in India who deal very largely in cotton, to endeavour to get a direct dealing from the Manchester manufacturers with them, and to do away with any agency at all, the chief object being to prevent any chance of adulteration. These are men who are competent to form an opinion as to the risks they run in exporting their cotton from India. Further, I have the honour of being a brother of Mr. Peter Hewett, an Inspector of Cotton in India, who has done good service to the State, for which he has been twice complimented in very high terms by the Government, and who has been favoured with particular notice by the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, at a dinner given to Mr. Ashburner, the collector; and I say that their view and my own is that the interference of the Government in this matter is a necessity. Why? Because my brother found the tremendous difficulty there was in getting the ryot to move even to sow better cotton. The Government would not interfere with the ryot, and it was difficult to induce the ryot to try experiments, as you could not show him by experiments on a small scale the utility of better cultivation. Khandeish was producing cotton of the lowest value, while Berar, the adjoining district, was producing cotton of the highest value; and my brother, under the permission of the collector, got a merchant to come boldly forward with

capital, and purchase seed in Berar for the purpose of its being sown in Khandeish. Having made arrangements with Captain Osborne, the agent of the railway, the seed was conveyed at a moderate rate, and that season (I am speaking of 1863) the cotton produced in that district went up 100 per cent. Not only did my brother find it difficult to get the ryots to take the cotton seed at a fair valuation, though brought to their doors, but they actually said, "Suppose the cotton from this new seed comes up, how do we know that the cotton will be purchased from us?" My brother then said to the merchant, "Be bold, make one step further, and undertake to purchase the cotton if they will purchase the seed. I am satisfied it will be to your advantage—purchase the cotton at the present rate." When the ryots had his guarantee, they then purchased the seed, and the result was the fruit. Now, that shows the natives must be assisted, and not only assisted, but worked into the adoption of improvements and measures having in view extended and improved production. Now as to the necessity of the Government interfering with reference to frauds. The Government have been asked to interfere in the first instance. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji admitted that the Government was asked to interfere years back; but it is said now that the Government lever which was set to work ought to be stopped. Why? Can we say to the Government, "Stop now," having said "Commence" then? Let the Act be put in force. Let it be tested by the seller and the buyer, and then see how it will act. It is no use arguing as to what will be the effect of interference—and that the Government do wish to interfere is shown by the Government being asked to come forward and take these measures—and nobody, surely, knows better than the Government that some such measure is required, because every act of fraud or every unlawful act taken cognizance of by the Cotton Department is before the Government. We may be perfectly assured that the action of the Government with respect to the Act in question rests on solid grounds. Extract from the Government, if you will, the reason of the Act, by a petition or in some other way, but I should raise my humble voice against calling any body of gentlemen to denounce it, and to say it ought to be repealed.

Mr. MACLEAN.—I have no practical knowledge whatever of the growth of cotton, but I was in Bombay in 1863 when the first Bill for the prevention of cotton frauds was brought forward. I remember at that time there was a very similar discussion, on a small scale, to that which has taken place in the Bombay Legislative Council lately, and it was with great difficulty that the promoters of that Bill—the principal of whom was Mr. Michael Scott, who consulted me at the time about it—could be induced to see that they were really creating a new offence unknown to the penal code, to punish men for adulterating cotton, if they did not do it with a fraudulent intention. He did see that, and that modification was introduced into the Bill, and the Bill was passed in that way in 1863 for the punishment of fraudulent adulteration. A great many parties supported it at that time, because the American war was just upon us, and there was a great outcry made in England about Indian cotton. Great anxiety was felt that India should do whatever it could to make up the deficiency in the supply of American cotton; and though people talked about free trade, and said that people ought themselves to see what they bought, still it was thought that the Bill, if it did not go beyond the punishment of fraudulent offences, would be a good thing in the then unsettled state of cotton supply, and with the little experience men had of what India could do towards growing cotton. That Act was passed six years ago, and from that time to this we have not had any agitation for the improvement of the Act, and Indian cotton has gone on steadily improving all that time. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji quotes the opinion of Mr. Rivett-Carnac that the Cotton Frauds Act has not had anything to do with that improvement. In fact, it could not; because the Cotton Frauds Act has not been in operation in the Central Provinces, in Berar, where the great improvement has occurred. With regard to what Mr. Hewett said, it is one thing to induce a ryot to sow a better variety of cotton, and tell him the advantages of one seed over another, and it is another to take hold of him if he mixes two varieties, whether he did it intentionally or not, and to fine him heavily, or put him in prison for doing so. I think the Government



officers, who have done so much towards inducing the ryots to grow a better variety of cotton, have conferred a great benefit upon India and upon England. It is they who have done so much to improve the cotton supply. The conditions of trade in India by their aid have been totally altered. The ryots know now that they have a good market for cotton, and they are as fully informed as to what they can get for cotton in England as any people in America are, and they are quite as willing to grow cotton. It is absurd to suppose that they are not governed by the same rule of self-interest that governs men all over the world, and that they are not as anxious to grow cotton if it pays them; and when Manchester people complain that a proper quantity of cotton is not grown, they ought to look to the variations of their own market. If the ryot sees the price in the market in Liverpool to-day going up to 1s. 6d. and to-morrow going down to 6d., he is not likely to grow so large a quantity of cotton as he otherwise would; he would rather grow crops, the regular price of which would pay him on the average better. Ought the Government to interfere in that? Ought they to prevent him taking his own course in the matter, and should he be forced to grow cotton against his will if he finds those crops pay him better? Why should you compel him to grow cotton for the Liverpool market?

CHAIRMAN.—You are not keeping strictly to the question, I think.

MR. MACLEAN.—Perhaps I am a little departing from it; but that is the intention and the object of all this legislation, to increase and improve the supply of cotton for England. I think the Bill is badly directed for its purpose; and it seems to me that the effect of the Bill may be rather to defeat the object of its promoters, and that it may tend to check, instead of to increase, the supply of cotton just at the very time when the prices of the cotton are falling off at home, when you ought to grant the utmost liberty to the ryot to induce him to continue to grow the same crops as of old. You have this Bill passed, which discourages him from growing those crops, and strengthens him in his natural inclination to grow grain crops,

which, on the average, will perhaps pay him as well as the others. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has gone so fully into all these clauses that I do not think it necessary to speak of the very contradictory sections of the Bill. There is one remarkable section which I do not see that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has commented upon, Section 17, which ends thus: "Government may from time to time authorize, by any order passed in that behalf, the omission from the description required by this section of such of the particulars enumerated therein as it shall be found expedient to omit, and to revoke any such order." So that the Government may revoke the whole of the clause, and may prevent any full-press pressing any cotton whatever, except good cotton. It would be better that Manchester should get adulterated cotton than not any at all. It would be better that it should be sent forward and get the price it would fetch in the market. Mr. Hewett said that the Government had been called on by somebody or other to introduce this Bill. I am quite sure that no call has been made upon them; that the present state of affairs is not complained of by the producers; not complained of by the people who sell cotton in Bombay; and not complained of by the people who buy cotton in Manchester and Liverpool. Who are the people who complain of it? So far as I can make out, the people who are dissatisfied with the old Act are the officials who have had the working of it; and I am sorry to say I believe the proposed alteration has been supported by the Government of Bombay with no other reason than to increase the official department, to create a number of new appointments, and to put some fresh dues on the exportation of cotton. I do not think that any people in this country would be likely to approve of such an Act—an Act passed, not in the interest of any persons connected with the trade, but, so far as I can discover, merely for the purpose of creating some new appointments, new inspectors and commissioners, and so on, not subjected to the Civil Service competitions, and whose appointments, therefore, give a large amount of patronage to the Government for the time being.

MR. BRICE.—MR. Chairman and Gentlemen: Unfortunately I have only had the Act in my hand this last hour, and I

have not had a full opportunity, therefore, of examining all its details; but I am practically acquainted with the whole subject, and while I am an advocate for an Act with certain restrictions, I cannot say I am an advocate for the present Act. In the first place, the levy of the fee on the bales of cotton exported from India, for the improvement of that particular article, was not detrimental to the general interests of the trade so long as the money so raised was expended in improving the cotton, and not interfering with the grower. I use the word interfering in the sense of forcing by over-persuasion on the part of officials. I do full justice to Mr. Hewett's exertions, for I was in the district at the time, and I think I may take some credit for having had something to do with starting him in that career; but we are just at a time when we are passing from what I may call autocratic government to legislation, and no doubt we shall do, in the course of this legislation, an immense deal of harm, as well as effect some good. The Bill aims at three or four things apparently. It aims at making the man who presses cotton, or offers to sell cotton, keep it free from adulteration, and so far as it could reach the original dishonest man it is quite right in its intentions; but I am perfectly sure it cannot fail to do harm in its effects, inasmuch as the man who effects the fraud originally, is not the man who can be traced, and all the fines and pains and penalties are imposed on the victims of his fraud. It next aims at attempting to keep the man honest by imposing pains and penalties on the unfortunate licensees of presses. They are to watch him, they are to take out a permission to do such and such things; and, as far as I can read the Bill, we are to be bound to do this pressing at a particular hour, when it suits the cotton inspectors to come and attend. In more than one instance attempts have been made to stop the working of my own presses (which we had the management of up-country), because it suited the purpose of the cotton inspector of the district to say such and such were his hours, and later than that we should not work, nor should we begin any earlier. I am somewhat an autocrat in my own way, and I chose to act, and I represented his procedure to his superior; but no further notice was taken of it than that he got a private

snub. It happened that I was on the spot; but had the management of those presses been at that moment left entirely in the hands of such subordinates as we can afford to employ, the presses would have ceased working, and there would have been a very considerable loss to us, as also a very considerable annoyance to the merchants who were pressing, and who had to deliver their cotton at a certain time in Bombay. Then the Bill obliges the owners of presses to require the parties who send their cotton to be pressed to give in schedules of the qualities, and various other particulars, which, in practice, would be found to be perfectly impossible. The proprietors of the cotton will not be present. Their subordinates will do anything they are told to do; and, I am sorry to say, they will deny both what they have done, and what they were told to do. I think the pains and penalties proposed to be inflicted on the owners of presses condemn the Bill, and for my own part, on that ground, I strongly oppose it. There are points in it which are undoubtedly good; there are points in it which are undoubtedly necessary; but we want a different sort of Bill. One part of the Bill says that nobody shall mix two different qualities of cotton, which it qualifies by saying "exotic and indigenous;" but I may say, from my experience in certainly four or five parts of the country, there are as great varieties between what are acknowledged to be the indigenous qualities, as between the exotic and indigenous. It has been found to be practically impossible for anybody to mark the line where the exotic ends and the indigenous begins. In years gone by, it was perfectly possible; but to Dr. Forbes and others, who have been pursuing the improvement of the cotton trade in Dharwar, it has been a matter of grievance that they have not been able to separate the two things; that they have not been able to get a purely indigenous seed to sow; and the Government of India have very wisely and very liberally gone to the extent of starting farms for the purpose of the production of the one kind of cotton, so that the excuse for the intermixture should cease. That excuse was supposed to be used as a groundwork for the introduction of the Hinghungbat quality of cotton into the Khandeish district. In the Khandeish district there were two qualities of cotton,

differing in value, so long as they could be kept distinct, by 2*d.* or 3*d.* a pound; but they could not be kept distinct. An attempt was made to sweep out all the old seed, and introduce a new variety; but, I am sorry to say, in that respect, things are now just as they were before. It seems that it is not so much in the quality of the seed sown as it is in the nature of the soil, and in the climate; but it turns out that we have now the two varieties in the Khandeish district almost as strong as before. But when we come to the application of the Act, we shall find that the intermixture of those two varieties is equally a matter of penalty. Though, strictly speaking, the two cottons might be termed, by an expert, indigenous, there would be some tracing back of the original production of that seed; and, by a twisting of the Act, I believe a man might be subject to be fined just as much for the intermixture of those two varieties as if he had mixed the exotic and the indigenous qualities. Clause 28 is a very wholesome clause. It provides that unlicensed, unskilled, and incompetent people shall not be allowed to move about the country and repair the saw gins, which are used particularly for the exotic American cotton in the Dharwar district. The keeping of those gins in an effectual state of repair is one means of keeping the cotton in its originally good state, and preventing its being cut, and a great deal of damage being done to it. The object of this clause is to keep the whole of the repair of the gins under the management of the Government Factory. I very strongly deprecate, and have deprecated from the very beginning, the system which has been introduced and maintained in the Dharwar districts, and I believe we owe to it a great deal of the damage that has been done to that particular class of cotton. Very likely one is prejudiced by one's interests, but I think I am supported in my advocacy of the principle which I have advocated by the success which has attended the large factories in the Broach districts—factories managed by Europeans, and by responsible native gentlemen. The success which has attended those factories has been very great indeed, giving an impetus to the trade, and giving an impetus to the improvement of cotton passing through the gins

at work there; and, I believe, had the same principle been carried out in the Dharwar districts, we should have had none of the complaints with regard to the quality of the cotton of those districts that we have had; but the policy of the Government has been, in the Dharwar districts, to make every man his own ginner, so that he may adulterate his cotton as his heart pleased. Then came the necessity for an establishment to keep those gins in order, and thence comes the necessity for this very stringent Act, because adulteration is not pursued in the same way in the other districts as it is in the Dharwar districts. I admit that last year there was very considerable adulteration—disgraceful adulteration—in the Broach cotton, so as to render it saleable only at a considerable reduction of the market rates; but then, I say, had we had the same autocratic Government which we had before any Act was introduced, we could not have had that adulteration carried on in the wholesale way in which it appears to have been carried on. That wholesale adulteration has not been in the cotton which passed through the large gin-houses, but the cotton ginned outside of them, and all that cotton used to be stamped by the orders of a very autocratic collector, a man who did more good in his time than any laws could do, and there was a wholesome dread and fear of his displeasure—for pains and penalties I believe he never visited on any one—for it was quite enough for him to be displeased. Coming to the good in the Act, the permission to establish markets is a very wholesome proceeding, because it enables the European merchant at Bombay to deal direct with the ryot; and I may say there has been more good done in the Berar district without any Act than by anything this Act would effect. The whole power of good or evil consists in the man who administers. Put an Act like this into the hands of an incompetent or domineering man, and I am perfectly sure we shall only produce unmitigated harm. If it is necessary to have a Bill to impose a fee, it ought to give power to the Commissioner, in fact, it ought to make it his duty, and the duty of all appointed under it, to do all they could to improve the growth; and I believe a great deal of good may be done

by persuasion, and that little good is to be done by fining. If all that is to be effected which the Bill is intended to effect, I say it does not go one-tenth part far enough. If we are to have a body of inspectors for the purpose of checking the adulteration of cotton, and we are to pay a fee of four annas per bale on all that is shipped, I say, let the Government appoint inspectors to examine every bale of cotton that is pressed, who should be bound to attend at all such times as the licensees of the presses choose to work them, and let those Government inspectors give the certificate, not the Press Company, which by the Act is bound to do it, with all the liability to the pains and penalties specified in the Act, for a paltry two pies a bale. I myself could not dream of putting any responsible person to look after the pressing of cotton, and pay him out of such a fee. The most that a press can do is 100 to 120 bales a day, and two pies a bale would not pay the presser. We should go on knowingly incurring all these pains and penalties, in the hope that we should never be caught, in the hope that they would never be incurred. Let those inspectors give the certificates, and then if the quality of the cotton pressed in the bale is found to be adulterated, or inferior to the mark given, the inspector would be mulcted, the Government fund would pay the penalty, and not the man who has been victimized by the rascality of some man 500 miles away. On the whole therefore, while advocating parts of the Bill, I strongly deprecate its passing in its present shape.

Mr. ELLIOT further observed, with regard to the principle of Government interference, upon which he felt very strongly, having seen many of its evils, if we admitted the principle of interference, we should be merely travelling back to the old state of things under the native Governments. He quite admitted that evils arose from the existing state of things, but they were only the same evils as arose from adulteration in any country. We might as well appoint inspectors to interfere with the Dutch butter manufacture as to interfere with the adulteration of cotton.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.—Certainly I am very much obliged to Mr. Hewett for coming here and saying something on the

other side of the question. Neither the Association nor myself, in asking the Association to move in this matter, had the least intention of denouncing the Government, or saying anything against the Government. It was only considered that the question was a very important one, and that it was necessary that it should be fairly discussed. Perhaps the very able and clear exposition of the Act by Mr. Brice will have convinced everybody, from the experience from which he speaks, that this Act, as it is passed, is likely to do a great deal of harm; but my object, as I have said very distinctly in my paper, was not to form, or ask the Association to form, a foregone conclusion, but to discuss the matter dispassionately and carefully, so that the Secretary of State, in either ultimately confirming or vetoing the Bill, may have sufficient material and all the bearings of the question before him. I agree with Mr. Brice that there are parts of the Bill that are good, and you will see that I have only commented on those clauses which refer specially to stringent penal restrictions. Without entering more minutely into the history of the Act, I may say, Mr. Ellis, when he introduced the Bill at the beginning of the year, said distinctly, that, though he advocated the useful parts—the parts which were to assist in the development of the growth of cotton and its improvement—he objected to the additional penal restrictions. But I think it is not necessary at present for me to enter into these details; because, as far as the discussion has gone, Mr. Hewett has only told us that there is necessity for interference, and he only guesses that there may be some good reason why the Government have come forward to pass such an Act. The reason he himself is not able to tell us. He asks us to ask the Government to give that reason. But it is to be presumed that Government have given us their reasons. Mr. Tucker, who has risen from the lowest grade of the service, and who is in the Executive Council, ought to know those reasons, and yet he disapproves the severity of the Act. Mr. Ellis, similarly situated, also disapproved of the same. As far as regards the people of Manchester, they have not asked for the Act. I have read to you a letter from a member of a very respectable and well-known house in Manchester, who is also a member of the Committee of the



Chamber of Commerce there. Beyond that I have gone through the Reports of the Chamber of Commerce for the last ten years, and the Reports of the Cotton Supply Association, who we must presume are much concerned in the matter, in fact, take great interest in the question of cotton supply ; and we find, though at the time the Act of 1863 was passed they expressed some approval of it, that being a time when prices were high, and there was a great inducement and temptation to adulterate, after that time was over they have not asked for anything further, contenting themselves with simply giving us fair warning that if India did not produce better and more cotton, it could never hope to compete with America, and directing their efforts entirely to improving and extending the growth, and removing obstacles to transit. On no occasion whatever have they expressed, in fact, the slightest wish that any very stringent Act should be enacted in order to give them better cotton. They know their business too well—they know that when they have inferior cotton brought before them, they can make allowances for additional labour to clean it. If they have offered to them a parcel with seed or with any other adulteration in it, they know how to calculate the amount of extra labour and extra wear of machinery required to put it in proper condition, and they make allowance for it. And, moreover, by the rules of the Cotton Brokers' Association of Liverpool, to which the letter of Messrs. Whitaker and Whitehead refers, not only is the Manchester and Liverpool buyer well protected by buying his cotton from samples drawn actually from the bales, but after he has taken away the cotton and paid for it, he has the power of coming back upon the seller to make good anything that is wrong in those bales. These are the rules which the brokers, on both sides, have agreed to, and are actually acting under : “ 45. Claims for stones, &c., falsely packed, damaged, or unmerchantable cotton, shall be allowed, at the value of the sound cotton, at the date of return, if such return shall be made, and the claim sent in within ten days and three months from the date of invoice.” The allowance is to be made according to the price at the date of return, so that if the price has gone up, the higher price has to be paid. The buyer has 100 days in which he may return any cotton which is not of the

quality he bought, getting back all the money he paid. Consequently every possible care is taken by the Liverpool merchant, or the Manchester merchant, that he shall not lose by the transaction. The shipper has to pay the loss. I do not pass any opinion on the Cotton Department as it exists, I only judge of Moofussil administration from what I know; but, at the same time, there is one remarkable difference between this Cotton Department and Moofussil administration generally. The Cotton Department is a temporary department created a few years ago, and which may be abolished at any moment; and, moreover, the officers in the Cotton Department have no high promotion to look forward to—they are confined to that department; and, considering the material of which the subordinates in that department are composed, it is no wonder that they should have a strong temptation to “make hay while the sun shines,” in a trade in which the real adulterator is able to pay the watchman very well, in order that he might be able to carry out his own nefarious objects. This Cotton Department is, I think, active in Gujerat and in Dharwar. Messrs. Whitaker, Whitehead, & Co., in their letter, say that Broach cotton has been adulterated this year, and that complaint has been made about Comptah cotton. Now, it is rather strange that in those two districts where the Cotton Department exists, the cotton should be found adulterated, while there is no complaint made about some 700,000 bales of cotton that are exported from India, to which the Act of 1863 had not reached. I will give you these figures for you to form your own judgment on. Mr. Rivett-Carnac gives the total produce of India at about 1,400,000 bales. Out of that, he puts down 130,000 for Bengal, 170,000 for Madras, 50,000 for the Central Provinces (to which he says the Act of 1863 did not extend), 325,000 for Dhollera, Kutch, &c. (but I would make a deduction from that for British territory, and say, 250,000), 30,000 for the Nizam's territories, 25,000 for Central India, 20,000 for the Punjab (*via* Kurrachee), 35,000 for sundries, including Burmah, and 50,000 for the Gaikwad territories, making 760,000 bales out of 1,400,000, or more than half, to which the Act of 1863 hitherto did not reach, and the present Act cannot reach. I have left out some of the small native

states in the Southern Mahratta country, where also some cotton is produced. This shows that about half the Indian cotton has been exported without any interference, and yet satisfactorily, to the English market, as the resolution of the Cotton Supply Association, read by Mr. Pragjee, shows. Is it not hard and unfair, then, that that part of the trade which belongs essentially to the Bombay Presidency should be subjected to such great and unnecessary annoyance and interference? If Government want to send *all* Indian cotton to Manchester and Liverpool in a pure state, the present Act does not gain that object, as half the cotton could still go as it liked; and it is stranger still that some adulteration has taken place, more particularly where the Cotton Department has been in existence, because all that over which Mr. Rivett-Carnac presides has been improving very largely, and, according to his testimony, certainly not through the interference of the Government. As long as human nature is what it is, we shall have a certain proportion of adulteration, but the penal laws of the country are enough to deal with the evil, and the English market is both satisfied with things as they are, and is well able to take care of itself, without the necessity of such extraordinary penal interference as that of the Act in question. With regard to the strong protest made by Mr. Elliot as to any interference, the case of cotton, or any produce of India, is somewhat peculiar. The ryots cannot take the initiative themselves; if English merchants would go and induce them to do certain things, well and good. If the Government would come forward and expend the dues and fees it received from the cotton trade, in the improvement of cotton cultivation, by all means let us have such interference. The Government officials could do a great deal of good by going to the ryots and telling them what would be best for their interests, what seed to sow, and what manure to use. That sort of help we should be glad to avail ourselves of, and that sort of help the Government could effectually render, without the necessity for all these penal enactments, hampering and discouraging the growth of cotton. The Bombay Association, in a petition which they presented in July, 1869, gave a few instances of the oppressive manner in which even the of Act 1863 had worked;

they gave a number of instances in which persons, upon whom punishment was inflicted, were ultimately acquitted by the High Court as being not guilty. If we know that with much less power, the Cotton Department has been able to bring oppressive punishment upon people who have been afterwards acquitted as being innocent, we cannot but expect that under these strong penal clauses the oppression will be much increased. The second clause is the clause on which the principal fight took place in Bombay. Originally, fraudulent intention was required to be proved. It has been the special object of this Act to remove the necessity of proving that the mixture was made dishonestly or fraudulently, and that, necessarily, will lead to a great deal of oppression and unnecessary annoyance. I am very thankful to Mr. Hewett, and Mr. Brice, and Mr. Maclean, for attending to-night and taking a part in the discussion. All this discussion will be published, and laid before the Secretary of State. I think we had now better leave it to our Council to take such action as they think proper; either to call another meeting, if necessary, or communicate the proceedings of this meeting to His Grace the Indian Secretary.

Mr. ELLIOT explained that when he protested against Government interference, he did not mean that assistance which every Government should properly give to the development of the resources of the country, the growth of cotton, the improvement of wool, and so on. He had himself endeavoured to impress upon the Commissioner of Mysore the advisability of the Government giving assistance in the growth of chinchona, a thing of very great importance to the whole world; but, he thought, when the Government had gone so far as to establish farms for the improvement of cotton or any other production, there the matter should end.

Mr. HEWETT, in answer to what had been said as to the extensive adulteration of Broach cotton, stated that his brother had been transferred from Khandeish to Broach; and, in consequence of the state of things being so bad in Broach, he was asked by the Government to give his assistance as to the amendment of the Act. The very circumstance of that cotton being proved to be so bad, showed the necessity of some mea-

asures being taken to prevent fraud. With respect to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's remark, that under the second clause it was not necessary to prove fraudulent intent, he did not so read the clause, for the preamble of the Act said, "Whereas it is expedient to amend the law for the suppression of fraudulent practices in the cotton trade," and in the latter part of the Clause 2 were these words, "or by any other means *fraudulently* or dishonestly," and so on.

Mr. MACLEAN contended that the words "or by any other means *fraudulently* or dishonestly," applied only to increasing the weight; the words "fraudulently or dishonestly" were not to be found in the first part of the clause, the words there being "whoever adulterates or deteriorates cotton," and so on.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI remarked, that the intention of the Act was to be gathered from the speeches of those who framed it.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that the act of adulterating or deteriorating cotton by mixing therewith any seed, dirt, stones, or other foreign matter, and so on, must necessarily be fraudulent.

CHAIRMAN.—I would say generally, with regard to this subject, I think that everybody here present must have been pleased at the discussion which has taken place. Those who have not a practical acquaintance with the subject, myself amongst the number, have received a great deal of information from those having a practical knowledge of the whole question. But, with regard to the discussion which has passed, I think there are one or two observations to be made. In the first place, with regard to Government interference, it has been overlooked that there is Government interference in this country. We passed, last session, an Act with reference to the adulteration of seed, which is exactly the same question as this; and, of course, there are other Acts relative to adulteration. Further, I think we must not overlook this consideration, that the Government is more entitled to interfere in India than in this country, because the Government is the great proprietor of land; the Government depends on the production of the whole country for its revenue. With regard to the general question, as Chairman

I have merely to put any resolution that you may propose. I do not wish at all to express an opinion on the question. I think the discussion has been very useful, but do not let us overlook one or two things, and then be regarded by the general public as taking a one-sided view. We have had the opinions of cotton buyers and cotton sellers well represented here; but we have not had the general public represented. The general public has nothing to do with buying and selling, but it has to do with the wearing of the stockings, which, if the cotton is bad, will wear out much more quickly than if good; and in the protection of the general public the Government very rightly steps in. I dare say, as in all other things, there may be some weak points in this Act, and some objectionable ones; but it is conceded by gentlemen with great knowledge of the subject that some legislation is required, though not, perhaps, of the nature of the Act which has been discussed to-night. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji refers chiefly to the penal enactments. Let us remember that the penal enactments refer chiefly to a sort of middle-man. I believe the ryots generally are not people who adulterate fraudulently; but I am told by merchants that there are certain middle-men who step in and who injure the cotton, and so very much injure the ryot. If Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has any proposition to make, I will put it to the meeting; if not, I will only say that I think he deserves the thanks of all here present for his very able paper, and for his extreme anxiety to benefit India, which is shown by everything he does.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in returning thanks, explained, with reference to the remarks of the Chairman as to its being the province of the Government to interfere to prevent adulteration, that he (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) had all along taken it for granted that where there was a necessity for interference the Government ought to interfere; but he had tried to prove that in the present case there was no case made out for such stringent and hampering penal enactments as were contained in this Act. If the history of the Act were gone into, it could be shown that Mr. Ellis himself, though he fully approved of the other parts of the Bill, was opposed to the penal parts

of it, and so I think were Mr. Campbell and Mr. Brown, at the beginning of the year, at the first reading. With regard to the second clause, any one who read the discussion which took place on it would see that the words "fraudulently and dishonestly," which existed in the previous Act, were purposely omitted from this; and if Mr. Hewett's construction were the right one, the objections to the Act would be somewhat lessened. A great part of the sting was in the omission of the words "fraudulently and dishonestly," the consequence of which might be that many innocent men might suffer. He thought that legislation like this, which gave a power of coercion and annoyance to such agency as the Moofussil police, ought to be avoided as much as possible. Trade would be frightened and scared away if it was not allowed to take its natural course. The complaint about Broach and Comptah cotton was nothing extraordinary, only that the Cotton Department being there, it should not have occurred at all. Other districts of India have done well enough without pains and penalties. He had not produced this paper suddenly, and packed a little meeting, and tried to pass resolutions; but he had given the fullest opportunity to those gentlemen who might be of a different opinion to come and say what they had to say, so that the Secretary of State, in sanctioning or vetoing the Act, might be able to form a sound judgment. He would now leave the matter in the hands of the Council, as suggested before.

On the motion of Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, seconded by Mr. ELLIOT, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

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The following letter was subsequently received from Mr. W. S. FITZWILLIAM, a member of the Legislative Council of Lord Canning, and formerly Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta, and at present Chairman of the National Bank of India:—

"28, OVINGTON SQUARE, BROMPTON, S.W.,

"Dec. 23rd, 1869.

"My dear Sir,—I fully intended to be present at the meeting of the East India Association on Tuesday, to hear you read your paper on the Bombay Cotton Act of 1869, but a sudden attack of illness prevented my doing so. Had I been present I should have expressed

my opinion that the Act, especially the penal clauses, was not only uncalled for, but would act oppressively and injuriously upon the cotton-growers of the Presidency. It is a well-known and recognized fact, that the ryots and other producers of cotton have only given their attention to the production of this staple, because it pays them better than other agricultural products of the country. Now, if in addition to the reduction of prices so much below those which have ruled for some years past, the Government authorize the infliction of penalties and restrictions upon both growers and dealers in cotton, the ryots will certainly return to the cultivation of other products which are required for the home (Presidency) markets, and which are not burdened by such penalties and restrictions as are now to be applied to cotton. There is little doubt that in former years cotton was often mixed and adulterated, both in India and America; but in the latter country, as also in India, the dealers (for they are chiefly answerable for the adulteration) have found it more to their interest to send this staple to market free from adulteration, the more so as increased facilities for transport to the several markets, the introduction of capital, and improved processes for packing and pressing had largely increased the competition. This, of course, applies more to America than India. In the former country, in all cases where adulteration could be proved, the sellers have been made, under civil process in the courts of law, to pay the buyers the difference of market value and any loss sustained by the latter in the transaction; surely, then, if the law of India does not provide a remedy by civil action for such adulteration and the consequent losses to the buyer, it would be better to amend the law, that it would meet the difficulty, and thus obviate the necessity (if such exists) to inflict penalties and other restrictions, the effect of which can only be to check the future production of this important staple. But, according to Mr. Carnac's report—and there is no better authority in India—even a civil process will hardly be necessary; for he now states—what has been confirmed by good authority in Liverpool, Manchester, and elsewhere—that cotton from India is now, as a rule, sent free from mixture and adulteration. Another important fact is brought forward by Mr. Carnac—the produce of the ryots used to come to market through the native dealers, whereas now, by means of good roads and railways, the great cotton markets of the Presidency are brought within less than two days' journey from Bombay. The ryots bring their cotton themselves to the chief towns where they, as producers, can meet the buyers face to face, and the services of the middle-man are thus dispensed with. As regards the various arguments put forward in your paper, I should have been, with some few exceptions, prepared fully



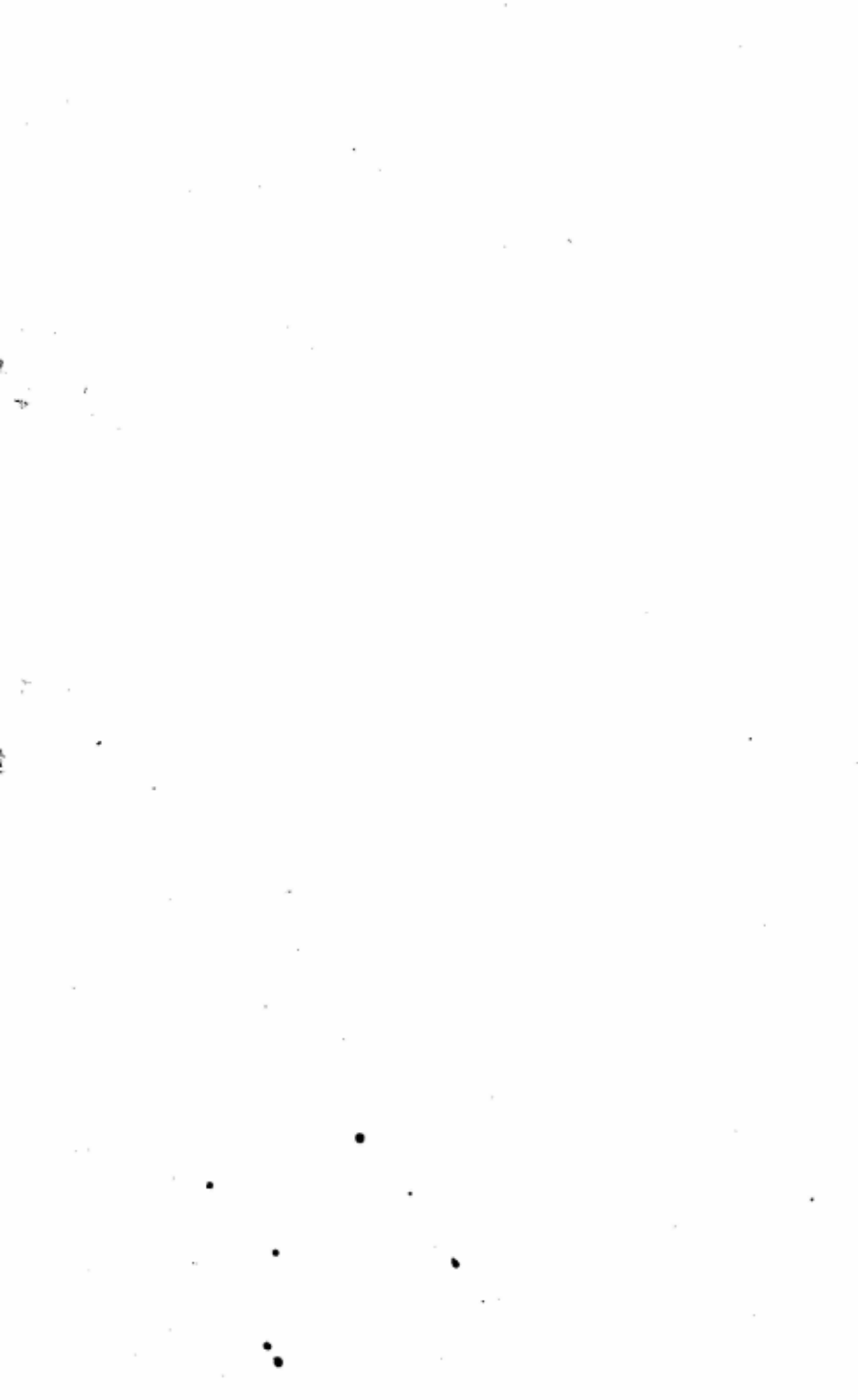
to endorse them. Instead of passing laws inflicting pains and penalties upon cotton producers and dealers, the Government should give their fullest attention to the promotion of every possible means of communication with the cotton-growing districts. The increase in the number of Cotton Commissioners is also important, and those so employed should be instructed to do everything possible to encourage the growth of cotton by initiating improved methods of cultivation, by which the cultivation could be largely increased. It is, according to the acreage reported, miserably small. Irrigation, proper seed, and improved machinery, would do this to a great extent; but encouragement given for such improvements to the native producer would do more than the pains and penalties proposed. I have had more than thirty years' experience in the cotton trade, chiefly in America, but I have also aided in introducing measures to improve and extend the production of this staple in India; and I feel that my opinion has at least the merit of experience.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours very truly,

"W. S. FITZWILLIAM.

"DADABHAI NAORJI, Esq."

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